SUBA OF DELHI UNDER THE MUGHALS 1580–1719

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE Ph. D. DEGREE

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CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY IN HISTORY
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
1988

ABSTRACT

The thesis aims at studying various economic, political and administrative aspects of the Mughal province of Delhi from 1580 to 1719. Introduction gives the sources on which the thesis is based. All kinds of material, notably Persian historical works and records of all kinds; Rājasthānī documents and accounts of European travellers have been used.

The study begins by establishing the limits of the sūba, as well as of its divisions, and the changes made in them from time to time. The physical geography of the area is then studied, with special reference to rainfall lines (isohyets). An element of human geography enters by correlating Mughal administrative boundaries with the linguistic boundaries (after Grierson). An actual correspondence between administrative and linguistic boundaries has not however been established. (Chapter I).

Chapter II deals with the pattern of Agricultural production in the sūba. It has been found that the extent of cultivation increased greatly between the reigns of Akbar and Aurangzeb. Price variations are also been discussed. The price-data suggests that there was a rise in the value of wheat between 1595 and 1715.

Data on mineral productions and manufactures are brought together in Chapter III.

This is followed by an analysis of the Land-revenue system in the _ṣūba_. A comparison of _dastūr-rates_, with Sher Shāh's _rai_' and modern yields has been attempted. Though the final _dastūrs_ do not seem to have been simple averages of the rates for the years 15-24 as suggested by Moreland, they obviously belong to the same range. A comparison of Sher Shāh's _rai_' with the final _dastūrs_ suggests that Akbar was not using Sher Shāh's _rai_' as the standard rate, and was thus taking a higher proportion of crops than justified by Sher Shāh's _rai_!

Examination of the _jama'dāmī_ figures should enable one to trace the changes in the gross estimated revenue assessments of province over the period. A number of _jama'dāmī_ statistics have been collected and analysed. An attempt is made to describe pattern of urban-taxation. The structure of revenue administration is delineated by describing the functions of the various revenue officials.

In Chapter-5 an account is offered of the position of the revenue-grantees, their caste-composition and rights enjoyed by them. The study suggests that the grantees prefer their grants near urban areas. In addition, Muslim

grantees seem to have showed some preference in the areas where the zamīndārs were Muslims.

Chapter - 6 deals with the position of the zamīndār-class and their caste-composition. Zamīndārs of the distant and outlying parganas and sarkārs seem to have possessed a larger share in the surplus. Between 1500 and 1900 the position of the Rājputs and the Jāṭs seems to have greatly improved while Saiyyids, Afghāns, Thathars and Ahīrs have been on the losing side. The main other gainers have been Baniās, Mahājans and Kāyasths.

The thesis then passes on to the jāgīr and the khāliṣa administration. Material has been collected on the treatment of peasants by jāgīrdār's agents (Chapter 7).

Chapter 8 describes the general administration of the ṣūba. First, the Governors, their powers, tenure and clan-composition etc. Brief biographical notices of the Governors are given to illustrate what manner of men held the post and for how long. Akbar showed preference for the Tūrānīs, Jahāngīr for Indian Muslims and Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb for Irānīs in their appointments. Next, the Chapter deals with the powers and jurisdiction of the faujdārs. A list of the faujdārs of various sarkārs/Chaklas

has been compiled. A number of other officials, such as <u>qāẓis</u> , castellans, <u>kotwāls</u> appear in our records, and their postion and functions are described.

Chapter 9 deals with commerce-important trade routes and the pattern of trade of the <u>ṣūba</u>.

The volume of commerce in the province could be reflected in the volume of money issued from its mints. The fluctuations in the coin output have been studied here on the basis of the catalogues of major Mughal coin collections. As expected the output expands greatly after the building of Shāhjahānābād by 1664 Delhi surpassed Agra and Lahore in coin-output.

The next Chapter deals with the construction of the city of Shāhjahānābād. A study of various classes living in Delhi attempted. It is argued that Delhi was not a mere 'camp-city'; there lived a sizable,permanent merchant class as well.

Chapter 11 deals with the analysis of the Mughal relations with the Himālayan terr itories - Kumāūn, Srinagar and Sirmūr. While the Kumāūn and Sirmūr <u>rājas</u> maintained cordial relations with the Mughals, Rāja of Srinagar often resorted to defiance of Mughal authority.

The last Chapter deals with two main uprisings which occurred in parts of the province - those of the Satnāmīs and the Sikhs. An effort has been made to highlight their agrarian character.

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C O N T E N T S

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LIST OF MAPS

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ABHA SINGH

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I must express my deep sense of gratitude to my Supervisor Professor Irfan Habib who has given me all kinds of guidance and assistance.

I owe much to Dr. Shireen Moosvi who at every stage not only gave me her full guidance and co-operation but was also kind to allow me to use data collected by her.

I am grateful to Mr. Faiz Habib and his senior colleague Mr. Zahoor Ali Khan, Cartographer, who have drawn all of my maps.

I am thankful to Professor S.P. Gupta who kindly helped me with the decipherment of the Rajasthani documents. He also frequently helped me in the identification of Rajasthani documents.

The National Archives and Archaeological Survey of India very kindly gave me permission to work there.

I am very thankful to Dr. Shailesh Zaidi and Dr. Shandilya for their kind assistance in the translation of the Satnami scripture. I am also grateful to Professor Zil-ur Rahman, Department of Ilm-ul Advia, Tibbiya College who very kindly provided me to use books in his personal collections.

Among my teachers, Professor M. Athar Ali, Professor A.J. Qaiser, Professor Iqtidar Alam Khan, Dr. R.K. Trivedi and Dr. S.P. Verma gave me help and guidence.

I am also thankful to the Members of the staff of of the Research Library, Department of History specially Mr. Jalal Abbas, M. Yusuf Siddiqui and Mr. Arshad Ali. The members of the staff of the Maulana Azad Library also gave me kind assistance throughout.

I owe to my Persian teacher Mr. Habibullah from whom I have learnt Persian. I am also grateful to all my fellow research scholars who helped and encouraged me specially Messrs Afzal Khan, Jawed Akhtar and Ali Nadeem Rizvi.

I should like to express my sense of gratitude to Dr. Rajendra Dixit, Head of the Department of Languages and Mr. G.N. Vyas, Chief Librarian, RCE, Bhopal for their co-operation and assistance.

I am thankful to Mr. Suhail Ahmad and Mr. Zahoor Ahmad Khan for typing the thesis.

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INTRODUCTION

In this thesis I have tried to assemble information on the various political, social, economic and administrative aspects of the <u>sūba</u> of Delhi from the time of its formation (1580) to the accession of Muhammad Shāh (1719). Uptill no attempt has been made to study the <u>sūba</u> of Delhi as a separate region, though Delhi and its monuments have received considerable notice from writers, such as Fanshawe, Carr Stephen, Frykenberg and Narayani Gupta. Other scholars have written on matters which are relevant to the history of the <u>sūba</u>. These include works of reference like Elliot's <u>Memoirs</u>, Crooke's survey of <u>Tribes and Castes of North-Western Provinces</u>, Grierson's <u>Linguistic Survey of India</u> and Irfan Habib's <u>Atlas of the Mughal Empire</u>. Other works bear upon the economy and administration of the Mughal Empire, like P. Saran's <u>Provincial Government Under the Mughals</u>, Irfan Habib's <u>Agrarian System of Mughal India</u> and Dr. Shireen Moosvi's <u>Economy of the Mughal Empire, c. 1595</u>. Needless to say, I have tried fully to avail of these works. But my basic evidence comes from the sources themselves.

These sources consist mainly of Persian texts and documents. The most important text undoubtedly is the <u>Ā'īn-i-Akbarī</u> of Abūl Fazl completed about 1598. For the text I have mainly relied on Blochmann's edition but for the statistical

portion. I have also used two early manuscripts in the British Library Add. 7652 and 6552. In case of any difference among various MSS. readings I have generally accepted those figures which tally in two MSS. but in case of differences in all the MSS. readings, that of MS. 7652 (which I consider by far the most accurate) has been accepted. The A'īn's statistical-data has been of considerable use to me for analysing various economic aspects of the ṣūba.

To supplement the A'īn's statistical-data for later periods I have used the Majālis-us Salāṭīn, Bayāẓ-i Khushbūī, Dastūr-ul ʿAmal-i ʿĀlamgīrī, Farhang-i Kardānī, Dastūr-ul ʿAmal of post 1696 (Fraser-86), Dastūr-ul ʿAmal-i Shāhjahānī, Ẓawābit-i ʿĀlamgīrī, Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh, Dastūr-ul ʿAmal-i-Shahanshāhī etc. All these texts provide statisticstics of revnues (jama'/ ḥāṣil).

Another very important source for revenue statistics is Kāghaẓāt-i Mutafarriqa, written around 1707. It not only provides ṣūba/sarkārwise figures as in other dastūr-ul ʿAmals but also gives maḥal lists of each sarkār. For sarkārs it has provided figures on jamaʿ and ḥāṣil both while for maḥals it has entered only the jamadāmī figures. It is thus of great help in demarcating and identifying sarkār-boundaries.

I have also utilized one Dastūr-ul ʿAmal of 1760 in the University Collection, M.A. Library, Aligarh. Probably I am

using it for the first time. Though its figures are from mid 18th century, it is important in that it also provides hāsil-i ausat figures for both the sarkārs and the sāir taxes. Since it is of a rather late period so I have not used the sarkār wise figures but its sair figures shows great affinity with the figures given in the Dastūr-ul ʿAmal-i ʿĀlamgīrī. It also provides further details that are not given in the Dastūr-ul ʿAmal-i ʿĀlamgīrī.

An important Persian work concerning the Delhi sūba is Chahār Gulshan of Rāi Chaturman Saksena, which has a chapter on sūba Delhi. For the text I have used MS. of ʿAbdus Salām Collection. For the figures I have also consulted MS. Qutbuddin Collection Tārikh Fārsī 87/7; MS. University Collection Fārsia Akhbār - 78 and MS. Habib Ganj-32/157, all from the M.A. Library, Aligarh. In case of variations in MSS readings I have accepted that figure which is found in two or more MSS. In case of variations in all the MSS I have accepted the reading of the MS. of ʿAbdus Salām Collection which I consider the best. Along with jama' statistics the work gives interesting sarkār-wise numbers of measured (jamīn-i paimūda) and unmeasured villages. It greatly helps in the analysis of the extent of cultivation during the early years of 18th century. It also provides route-maps which helped us to trace various trade-routes connecting Delhi sūba ran during Mughal period.

Some administrative manuals throw considerable light on the nature, character and jurisdiction of various officers in the _sūba_. Among such works are the _Dastūr-ul ʿAmal_ of Jawāhar Nāth Bekas, written on _sarkār_ Sambhal in Muḥammad Shāh's reign. It contains letters of appointment of _dīwān_, _faujdār_, _amīn_, _kotwāl_, _chaudhrī_, _qānūngo_, _muhtasib_ and various other revenue officials.

Another interesting collection of documents is the _Durr-ul ʿUlūm_. Its documents refer to various _pargana_-level revenue officials. It has also given some complaints against various revenue officials regarding their oppression and extraction of illegal cesses. I have also consulted the _Nigār-nāma-i Munshī_ which is of a similar nature. For this I have used Nawal Kishore's edition and also consulted the MS. in the Department of History, Aligarh.

For the political history of the _sūba_ in Aurangzeb's reign, much information can be gleaned from the _Akhbārāt-i-Darbār-i Mu'alla_. I have used microfilms of both the volumes of RAS, London and ofnthe Sarkar's Collection in the National Library, Calcutta. The _Akhbārāt_ contains a day-to-day report of the proceedings of the Court of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb for various years (4 R.Y. to 51 R.Y.). There are gaps, such as for the period of the Satnāmī rebellion (1672). Never-theless _Akhbārāt_ throw much light oh the tenure and and powers of various administrative officials- governors,

fau jdārs, kotwāls, qiledārs, waqāi-i navis, sadr, muhtasib etc. Besides, the Akhbārāt also proved to be of great help in tracing Mughal relations with Kumāūn, Srinagar (Garhwal) and Sirmūr territories of the Himalayan region.

Jahānārā Begum's letters addressed to Rāja Budh Prakāsh of Sirmūr are of great help in analysing the Mughal-Sirmūr relations. Letters are from 13 to 23 R.Y. of Aurangzeb.

For analysing nature of revenue grants the A'īn's sūyūrghāl statistics proved to be the great help. I have also used various original farmāns and madad-i ma'ash documents There are numerous collections of these in the Library of the Department of History, AMU. Some documents have been printed in modern works like the Tārīkh-i Amroha, and the Ma'āsir-ul Ajdad.

For agrarian matters, Shaikh Jalāluddīn Thānesarī's Tahaquq-i ārāzi-i Hind is of great importance since it is written by a person who himself belonged to that class of madad-i ma'āsh holders. It is an Arabic work written in 1581-82 but Sa'id Ashraf Nadvi has published it from Karachi in 1963 with an Urdu/translation. Jalāluddīn criticises Akbar's administration for his policy. He claimed milkiat rights over the grants which Mughal Emperors never approved of.

I have also used Jalāl Ḥiṣārī and Bāl Krishan Brahman's letters written late in Shāhjahān's reign. They throw light on local history and problems of administration in the Ḥiṣār Area. The collection also contains a unique Memorandum on the Chitung river.

Information about the ṣūba is found in biographical dictionaries, Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn of Shaikh Farīd Bhakharī and Ma'āṣir-ul Umarā of Shāh Nawāz Khān. For the Zakhīrat-ul Khawānīn I have used the printed edition (in 3 vols) published by Moin-ul Haq from Pakistan in 1961. For Aurangzeb's reign one has to rely on Ma'āṣir-ul Umarā alone Both the sources were of great help in constructing the biographical accounts of various Governors of the ṣūba.

I have also used Ḥālāt-i Manāzil-az Shāhjahānābād ta Kabul of ʿAbdul Qādir Khān. Though it was written in late 18th century (1796), it provides interesting information regarding flora, fauna, fertility of soil, crops, water-resources, various caste-composition etc. It is written in the form of a travel diary. During his visit from Shāhjahānābād to Kabul whatever the author saw he has recorded. As far as my knowledge goes, I am utilizing it for the first time.

Besides the above mentioned Persian sources I have also consulted the Persian historical works which covers my

period. These are listed in the Bibliography.

Apart from these Persian sources I have also consulted some Rājasthānī sources. Among these I have used aṛhsaṭṭa of pargana Bawal (1663-64) and aṛhsaṭṭa of Jai Singh Pura Jihānābād (1710-15). Besides, some nirkh-bāzār documents have also consulted. The Aṛhsaṭṭa of pargana Bawal provides details of area sown, area under crop failure, different crops-sown, productivity etc. Besides, it also mentions productivity of particular crops over different categories of lands. Not only the details of pargana Bawal as such, but details of all the villages which pargana Bawal contained are given The Aṛhsaṭṭas of Jai Singh Pura Jihānābād are documents concerned with the income and expenditure of the pargana. It provides details of taxation from various heads. While giving the disbursement, some information on prices prevalent at that time is also given. Nirkh-bāzār documents utilized are those of Delhi of three dates 10, 13 and 17 July 1715, only. But it helped in forming out the trend of prices prevalent at that time.

I have also consulted the Satnāmī scripture. It is written in both Persian and Nāgarī scripts. Since the transcript available to me is the one which is provided to me by Professor Irfan Habib who has copied only the Persian version from RAS, London. Even so, it has been of great help to me to analyse the nature of the Satnāmīs' revolt - their teachings, customs etc.

I have also consulted European travellers' accounts dealing with the ṣūba. Among these I may mention particularly Fr. Monserrate Tavernier and Bernier's. These are supplemented by the reports of the English Company's factors. The information contained in documents relating to Surman's embassy has been particularly useful.

I have also consulted various Museum Catalogue of Coins. Modern District Gazetteers too have been used.

Chapter 1

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE SŪBA

Akbar divided his empire into twelve sūbas or provinces in 1580.[1] The sūba was a new creation; previous to 1580, the largest territorial unit, at least within the areas of the old Lodi empire, was the sarkār. The area of the Delhi sūba, as carved out by Akbar, coincided with the territories of five sarkārs that had been mentioned by Bābur namely Sirhind, Delhi, Miyān-i-Doāb, Hissār-Firūza and Sambhal.[2] With the creation of sūbas, the old sarkārs, sometimes reduced in size and therefore increased in number, became parts of the sūbas. Akbar's sūba of Delhi continued with the sarkārs of Sirhind, Delhi, Hissār, Firūza and Sambhal; the sarkār of Miyān-i-Doāb was replaced by Saharanpur; and there were the additional sarkārs of Kumāūn, Rewari and Badāūn.

According to the Ā'īn-i-Akbarī the territorial limits of the sūba of Delhi extended from Palwal to Ludhiana ('165 kurohs'), from the sarkār of Rewari to Kumāūn-hills ('140 kurohs') and from Hissār to Khizrābād ('130 kurohs'). It adds that the sūba was bounded on the north-east by sarkār Khairābād (sūba

1. Abu'l Fazl, Akbarnāma, ed. Abdul Rahim, Calcutta, 1879, Vol.III, p.282.

2. Bābur, Bābur-nāma (Turkish Codex), ed. Annette S.Beveridge, Gibb Memorial Series I, London, 1971, f. 292 a-b; See also English tr. by Annette S. Beveridge, Reprint, Delhi, 1970, Vol. II, p.521.

Awadh), in the north by the Himalayan ranges and in the south by the *sūbas* of Agra and Ajmer; on the west it had Ludhiana.[1]

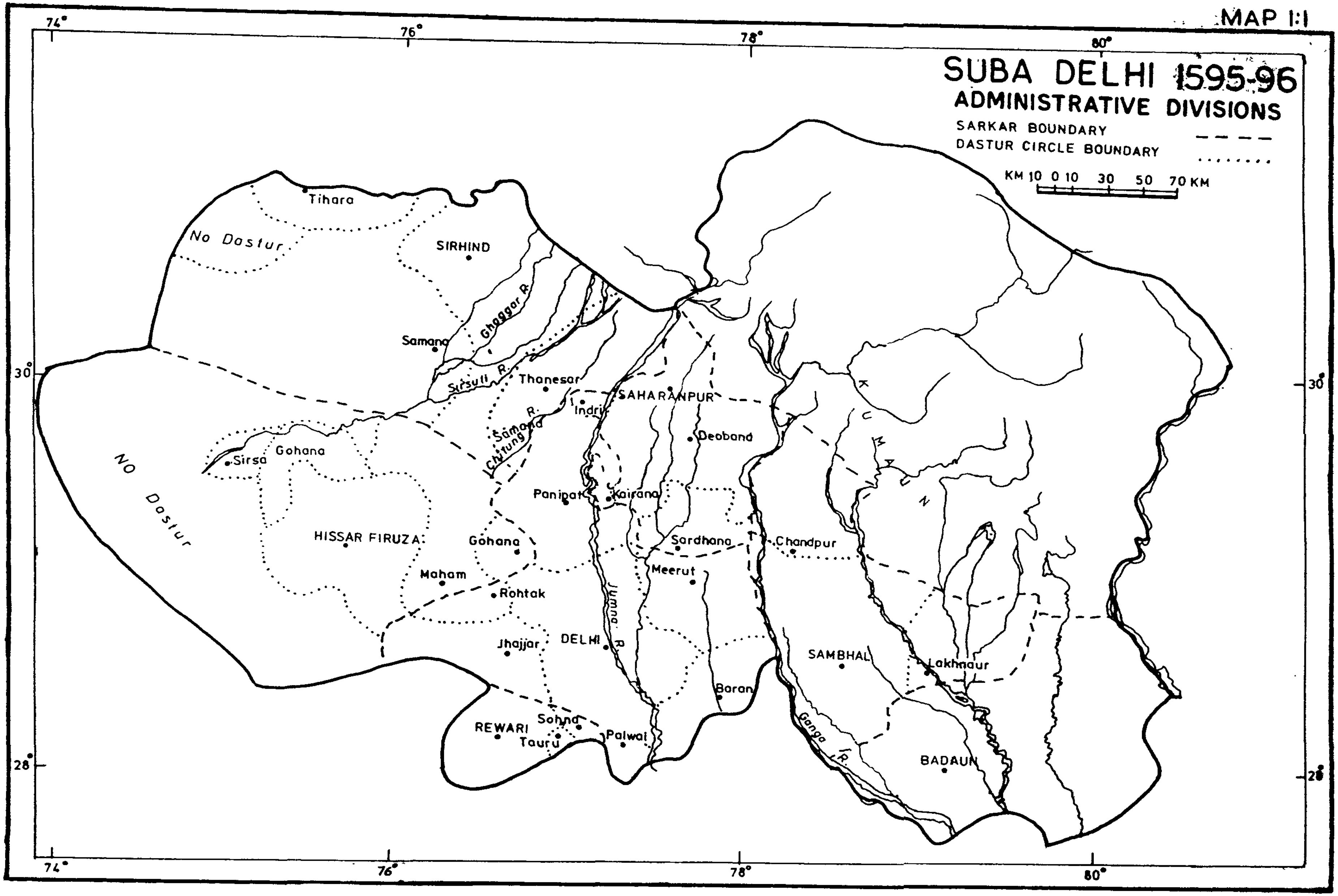
When the *Āīn* was written, the *sūba* comprised eight *sarkārs* subdivided into 232 *mahals*[2]. (See Map 1:1).

Under Shāhjahān some changes were made in the territorial limits of the *sūba*. The *sarkārs* of Nārnaul and Tijāra were transferred to it from *sūba* Agra. The total number of *sarkārs* was thus increased from eight to ten so that it now contained in all 289 *mahals*.[3] A new *sarkār*, that of Faizābād, was created, comprising some tracts taken from the *sarkārs* of Sirhind and Saharanpur.[4] On the other hand, the *sarkār* of Kumāūn is omitted from the list in the *Dastūr-ul-ʻAmal-i ʻĀlamgīrī*.[5]

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1. Abūl Fazl, *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1872, Vol. I, p.513.
2. Ibid, 517. The figure for *mahals* given here is the one stated for the *sūba* by the *Āīn*. It differs from the total of *mahals* actually listed.
3. See the *sarkār*-list and statistics in the *Dastūr-ul-ʻAmal-i-ʻĀlamgīrī*, MS. Br. Mus. Add. 6599, ff.113b-114a.
4. *Sarkār* Faizābād included eight *mahals* of Saharanpur (Bhogpur, Jaurasi, Sarsawa, Nakor, Muzaffarābād, Malhaipur, Rurki and (new *mahal*) Faizābād; and one (Sultānpūr) of Sirhind. The *Dastūr-ul-ʻAmal-i-ʻĀlamgīrī* does not provide us with names of its *mahals*. The *jamaʻ* tables, *Kāghazāt-i-Mutafarriqa* (Br. Mus. Add. 6586, ff. 89b-85b) of c. 1707 contains names of *mahals*.
5. The changes took place sometimes in late Shāhjahān's reign. However, Sujān Rāi (c. 1695) mentions only 8 *sarkārs* with 229 *mahals*. It had omitted the *sarkārs* of Kumāūn (of the *Āīn*) while including *sarkār* Nārnaul (Sujān Rāi Bhandārī, *Khulāsat-ut-Tawārīkh*, ed. Zafar Hasan, Delhi, 1918, p.39). Similarly, Bernier assigns the *sūba* 16 *sarkārs* and 230 *mahals* (Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, 1656-1668, tr. A. Constable, ed. V.A. Smith, Delhi, 1968, p.456). The number 16 for *sarkārs* seems to be a mistake. Besides, the number of *mahals* mentioned by Bernier is just 230, less than that of the *Āīn* (232).

MAP 1:1



F. Habib

By the end of Aurangzeb's reign the limits of the _sūba_ were extended to the Sutlej by the transfer of some _mahals_ including Ferozepore from _sūba_ Multan.[1] A slight change also took place in the south-eastern and north-eastern boundary of the _sūba_.[2] The Himalayan _sarkār_ of Srinagar was created out of the older _sarkār_ Kumāūn, it being a separate chiefdom alongside Kumāūn.[3] For all practical purposes, their inclusion in _sūba_ Delhi was little more than nominal (see Map 1:2).

There occurred certain changes in the _sarkār_ boundaries as well. The number of _mahals_ in _sarkār_ Delhi were increased from 48 to 50. Sardhana, which was earlier a part of _sarkār_ Saharanpur, was now included in Delhi. Two new _mahals_,

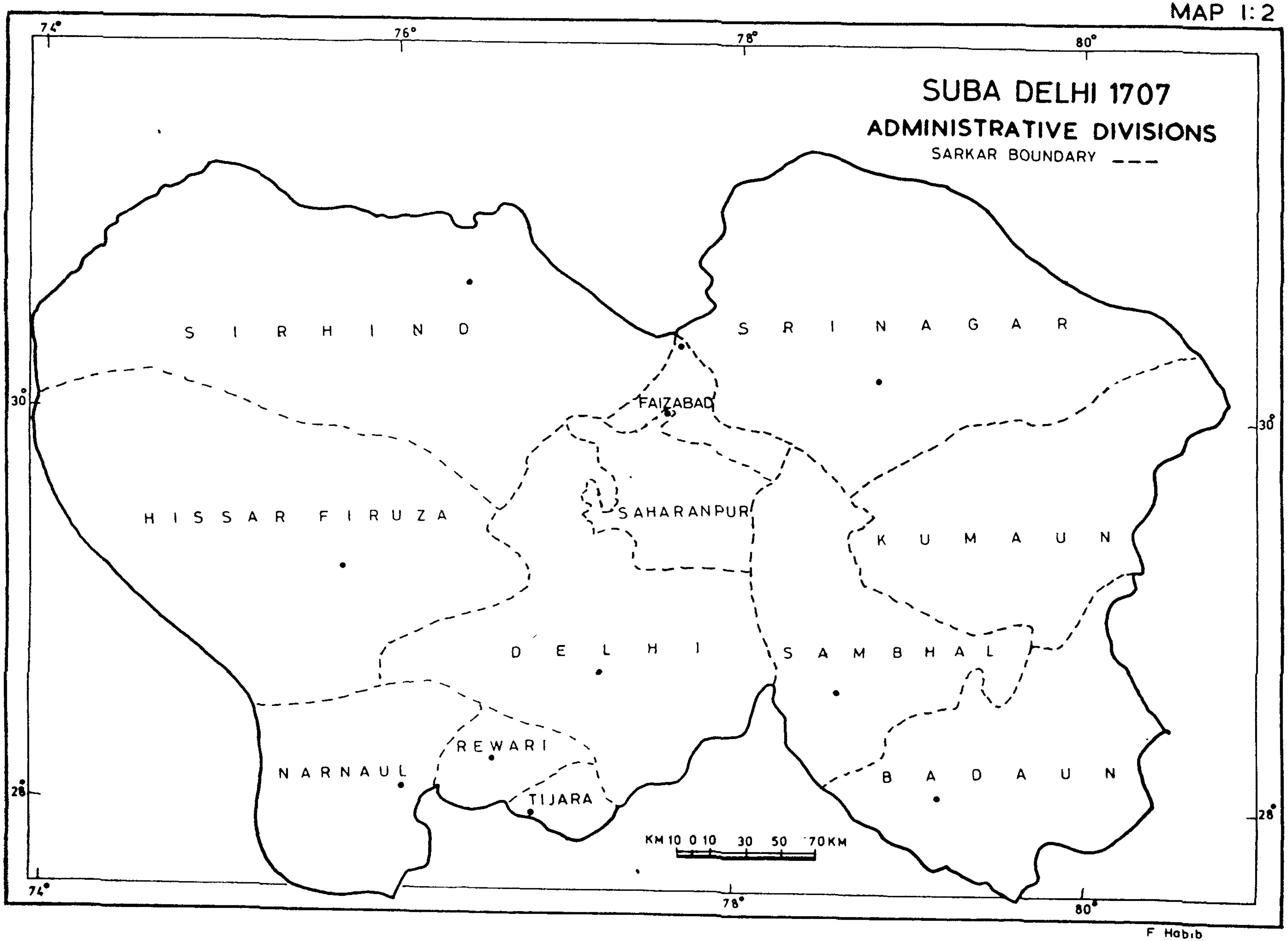
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1. The whole tract of 'Birun-i-Panjnad' of _sarkār_ Dipālpūr, i.e. the _mahals_ of Jalalabad, Jangal, 'Ālampur, Ferozepore, villages of Lakhi Qabula and Muhammadwat, was transferred to _sarkār_ Sirhind (_Kāghazāt-i-Mutafarriqa_, 85a-b).

2. The _Kāghazāt-i-Mutafarriqa_ (95a) shows Kant (a _mahal_ of _sarkār_ Badāūn in the _Āīn_) under _sarkār_ Khairābād of _sūba_ Awadh. On the other hand, the _mahal_ of Mihrābād, which is now shown under _sarkār_ Badāūn had previously been part of the _mahal_ of Shamsabad in _sarkār_ Kanauj of _sūba_ Agra. Towards the north-east, Banbasa, a _mahal_ of _sarkār_ Kumāūn now formed part of _sarkār_ Badāūn. Bairamnagar, which was earlier a part of _sarkār_ Sambhal was now included in the _sarkār_ of Badāūn (86a).

3. _Kāghazāt-i-Mutafarriqa_, 87b.

MAP I: 2



SUBA DELHI 1707
ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS
SARKAR BOUNDARY
74°
76°
78°
80°
30°
28°
SIRHIND
SRINAGAR
HISSAR FIRUZA
FAIZABAD
SAHARANPUR
KUMAUN
DELHI
SAMBHAL
REWARI
NARNAUL
TIJARA
BADAUN
KM 10 0 10 30 50 70 KM
F Habib

ʿAẓīmābād urf Tilwari and *mauẓa*ʿ Sultanpur were included in *sarkār* Delhi. However, Garh-muktesar and Kasna, *maḥals* listed in the *Āʾīn*, are omitted in the list of the *Kāghaẓāt-i-Mutafarriqa*.[1] Similarly, at the time of the *Āʾīn* *sarkār* Sambhal had 47 *maḥals*; later this number was reduced to 45. The *Āʾīn's* *maḥals*, Liswah, Khankari, Hatamanah and Biroi are omitted in the list of the *Kāghaẓāt-i-Mutafarriqa*, while two new *maḥals* Ḥasan ʿAlī Pūr and Shāhjahānpūr are added.[2]

During Shāhjahān's reign a new sub-division called *chakla* begins to be mentioned. The *Dastūr-ul-ʿAmal-i-Shāhjahānī* says that when Saʿdullāh K͟hān became *wazir-i-azam* (Vice/Islām K͟hān) he formed *chaklas* by grouping a few *parganas* together. In each *chakla* an *amīn* and a *faujdār* was appointed.[3] Lāhorī says that Saʿdullāh K͟hān was appointed *wazir-i-kul* in the 19th R.Y. of Shāhjahān (21 Rajab, 1055 AH/12 Sept., 1645 AD)[4]. Thus *chaklas* were apparently formed sometime in the 19th R.Y. of Shāhjahān. However, the first reference of the *chaklas* for Delhi *sūba* is already found in an account of the 5th R.Y. of Shāhjahān when Rāʾī Kashī Dās was made *dīwān* and *amīn* of *chakla* Sirhind and Kripā Rām Gaur was appointed *faujdār* of

1. Ibid, 89b-88a.
2. Ibid, 87a.
3. *Dastūr-ul-ʿAmal-i-Shāhjahānī*, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 6588, f. 79b, cf. P. Saran, *The Provincial Government of the Mughals*, 1526-1658, Bombay, 1973, p.212.
4. ʿAbdul Ḥamīd Lāhorī, *Bādshāhnāma*, Calcutta, 1867, Vol.II, p.433.

chakla Hissār.[1] It seems likely that the chaklas were formed in the early years of Shāhjahān's reign (sometime before or in the 5th R.Y.) and not as late as 19 R.Y.

Though we do not have a list of chaklas in sūba Delhi, we come across as many as nine chaklas within the sūba : those of Hissār, Mewat, Sirhind, Sambhal, Saharanpur, Miyān-i-Doāb, Moradabad, Barelī and Sikandarabad.[2]

The Dastūr-ul-ʿAmal-i-Shāhjahānī mentions that chaklas were formed by grouping few parganas together but we normally find that sarkārs and chaklas tend to be identical. In 1675 Rūhullāh Khān was mentioned faujdār of Saharanpur by Sāqī Mustaʿid Khān, while a letter of Jahānārā Begum, of the same year, to Rāja Budh Prakāsh of Sirmūr, mentions him as faujdār of Miyān-i-Doāb.[3] The only known exceptions being chakla Mewat which covered not only parts of different sarkārs but of different sūba as well. The Akhbārāt state that pargana Bhiwai (Bhiwan ?) was in sarkār Alwar (sūba Agra), chakla Mewat.[4] The same source places chakla Mewat in sūba Delhi.[5] Sarkār Sambhal contained within it two chaklas, Morababad and Sambhal.[6]

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1. Ibid, Ii, 409, 432.
2. Ibid; Muḥammad Wāris, Bādshāhnāma, transcript in the Department of History, A.M.U., p.133; Chandra Bhān Brahman, Chār-Chaman-i-Brahman, Abdus Salam, 293/63, A.M.U., f. 46a; Akhbārat-i-Darbār-i-Muʿalla, 17 Rabī-ul Sānī, 3 Jumādī-ul Awwal & 22 Rajab, 4 R.Y./10 Nov. & 25 Dec. 1661, 13 March, 1662; Sāqī Mustaʿid Khān, Maʾāsir-i-ʿĀlamgīrī, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1871, pp. 104, 110.
3. Maʾāsir, 144. Ruqqāt-i-ʿĀlamgīrī (collection of the letters of Aurangzeb), ed. Saiyyid Najib Ashraf Nadvi, Azamgarh, n.d., p.316 (D.No.3/200).
4. Akhbārāt, 14 Zai-ulQadah, 47 R.Y./1 April, 1703.
5. Ibid, 3 Jumādī-ul-Awwal, 4 R.Y./23 Dec., 1661.
6. Ibid, 17 Rabī-ul-Ākhir, 4 R.Y./10 Nov., 1661; Maʾāsir, 104.

The territory contained within these limits essentially comprised the plains of what the geographers call the Indo-Gangetic divide, and the northern portion of the Upper-Gangetic plains. The geographical sub-zones in the Indo-Gangetic divide are the 'Sutlej' plains; the Ghaggar tract and the west-Yamuna plains, now largely included in the states of Punjab and Haryana and the Union territory of Delhi. The portion of the Upper-Gangetic plain included in ṣūba Delhi comprised the Upper-Doāb and Rohilkhand (trans-Ganga tract, the old Katehr), both lying within Uttar Pradesh.

We can broadly classify territories of the ṣūba according to the dialects used, into four parts, viz. Western Hindī, Punjābī, Rajasthānī and Pahāṛī.[1] There have been unfortunately no detailed surveys of the territorial limits of the various dialects apart from that given in Grierson's great Linguistic Survey. One has to rely on the limits (often arbitrarily made to correspond with British administrative boundaries) that he has determined.

Hindostānī (i.e. khari boli), which covers the widest area within the ṣūba, is spoken in the territories

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1. George Abraham Grierson, Linguistic Survey of India, Calcutta, 1908, 1916, Vol. IX, pt. I, II, IV. Western Hindī comprised a group of five dialects-Hindostānī, Bāngarū, Braj Bhākhā, Kanaujī and Bundelī (Ibid, pt.I, 69). Punjābī had Powadhī, Malwai, Rathī and Bhattianī sub-dialects (Ibid, 607-10). Among Rajasthānī sub-dialects Bāgrī, Ahirwatī, Torāwatī, Shekhāwatī and Mewatī (Ibid, part II, 31,44, 49-50, 147-48, 173) were spoken in the ṣūba. Kumāūni and Garhwālī were the prominent Pahāṛī dialects (Ibid, part IV, 108-9).

of the sarkār Sambhal and Saharanpur and in a portions of sarkār Delhi and Sirhind. Braj-Bhākhā is used in the parts of sarkārs Badāūn, Sambhal and Delhi; Kanaujī in parts of Rohilkhand which were within the Badāūn sarkār; and Bāngarū in parts of Delhi, Sirhind, Hissār, Rewari and Saharanpur.[1] Braj Bhākhā mixes with vernacular Hindostānī near Bulandshahr, with Kanaujī across the Ganges and with Mewatī towards Palwal.[2] Bāngarū is influenced by Punjābī and Ahirwatī in its vocabulary and grammar respectively.[3]

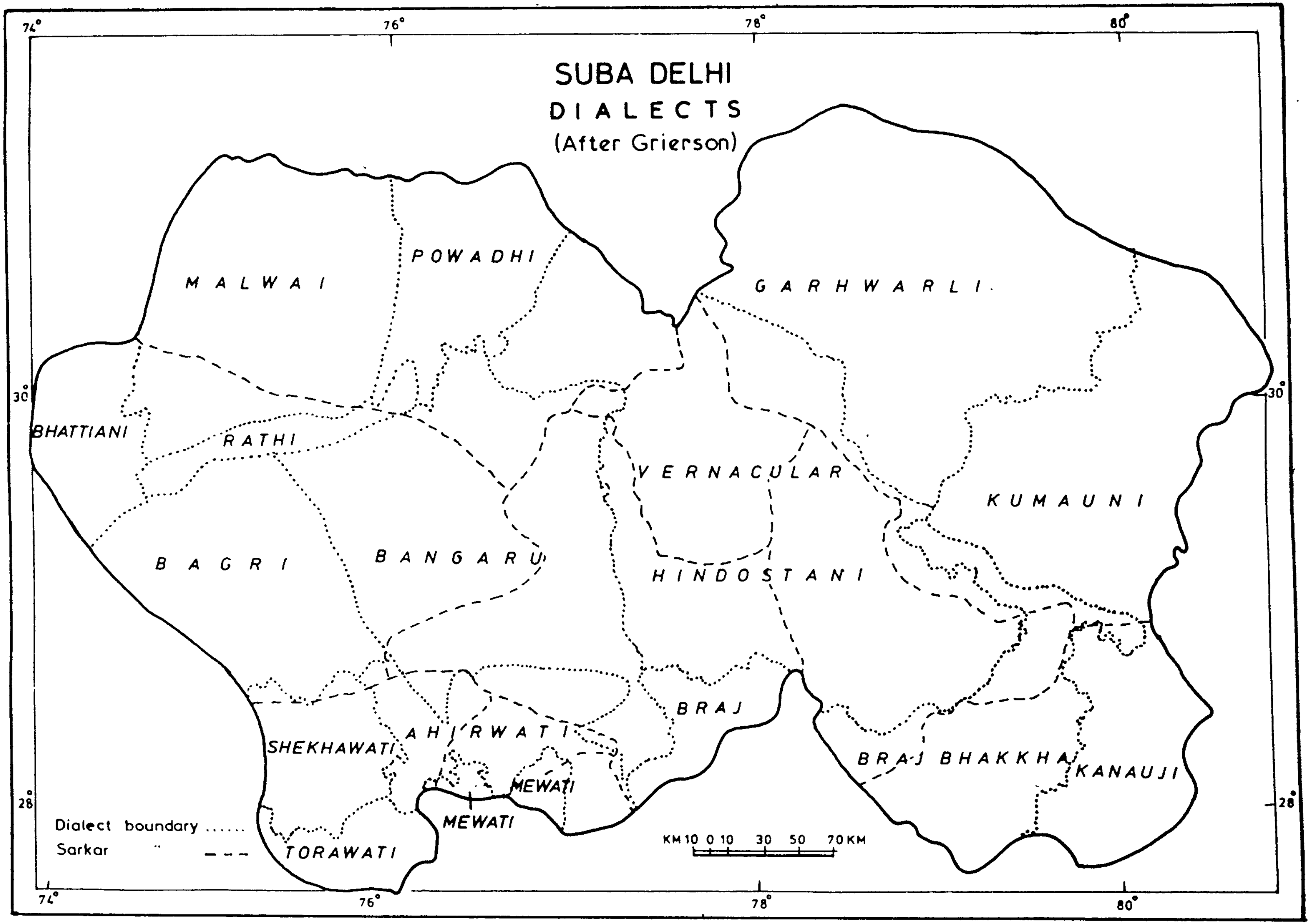
Powadhī (a sub-dialect of Punjābī) is spoken in portions of sarkār Sirhind; Malwai in parts of sarkār Sirhind and Hissār; and Bhattianī and Rathī in a small part of sarkār Hissār.[4] Powadhī Punjābī is influenced by Western Hindī towards the east, while Bhattianī merges into Rajasthānī and Rathī into Bāngarū.[5]

Bāgrī is spoken in the Mughal sarkār of Hissār and parts of sarkār Delhi where it merges into Punjābī and Bāngarū.[6]

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1. Ibid, IX, pt. I, 1, 66-69, 82.
2. Ibid, IX, pt. I, 69.
3. Ibid, p.66.
4. Ibid, IX, pt.I, 607-10. Powadhī covers Patiala and parts of Ambala and Ludhiana districts; Malwai in parts of Ludhiana, Ferozepore, Faridkot and Sangrur districts while Rathī was spoken in parts of Hissār district.
5. Ibid, 610.
6. Ibid, IX, pt. II, 147-48.

MAP I:3



F Habib

Mewātī, another form of Rajasthānī is spoken in the sarkār of Tijāra and some parts of sarkār Rewari, Rajasthānī here fading off into Braj Bhākhā.[1] Ahirwatī which differs very little from Mewātī, is spoken in the Mughal sarkār of Rewari and in parts of sarkār Delhi and Nārnaul.[2] In sarkār Nārnaul Mewatī, Torāwatī, Ahirwatī and Shekhāwatī are spoken.[3] The latter is very similar to Bāgrī but with the difference that it is greatly influenced by Bikānerī Mārwārī while Bāgrī displays Punjābī and Bāngarū influence.[4] Torāwatī is Jaipūrī fading off into Shekhāwati and Mewātī.[5]

Kumāūnī and Garhwālī are spoken in the territories of sarkār Kumāūn. Both the dialects which are closely allied, are greatly influenced by Rajasthānī.[6]

It is obvious that sūba Delhi contained a very large number of dialects; it also included the entire tract speaking khari-boli. So far as we can judge by comparing the sūba and sarkār limits with the dialect boundaries, as

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1. Ibid, 44.
2. Ibid, 49-50.
3. Ibid, 31, 44, 49, 173.
4. Ibid, 148.
5. Ibid, 173.
6. Ibid, IX, part IV, 103, 108, 279. Kumāūnī is spoken in Almora district and north of Nainital; Garhwālī in the districts of Garhwal, Tehri and in the parts of Dehradun.

determined by Grierson, these do not often correspond. The areas of a very large number of dialects were simply divided up between sarkārs or between sūba Delhi and surrounding sūbas. (See accompanying Map 1:3).

Within the limits of sūba Delhi described above, the annual average rainfall shows immense variation, ranging from a minimum of about 11 inches to a maximum of 118 inches.[1]

The isohyets drawn on the accompanying Map 1:4 show how the rainfall tends to be heavier in the plains as we move towards the north-west and lighter as we go westwards and south-westwards. The Himalayas fronting the plains naturally get the heaviest rainfall; but the isohyets show rapid decline in rainfall as one goes northwards deeper into the Himalayas.[2]

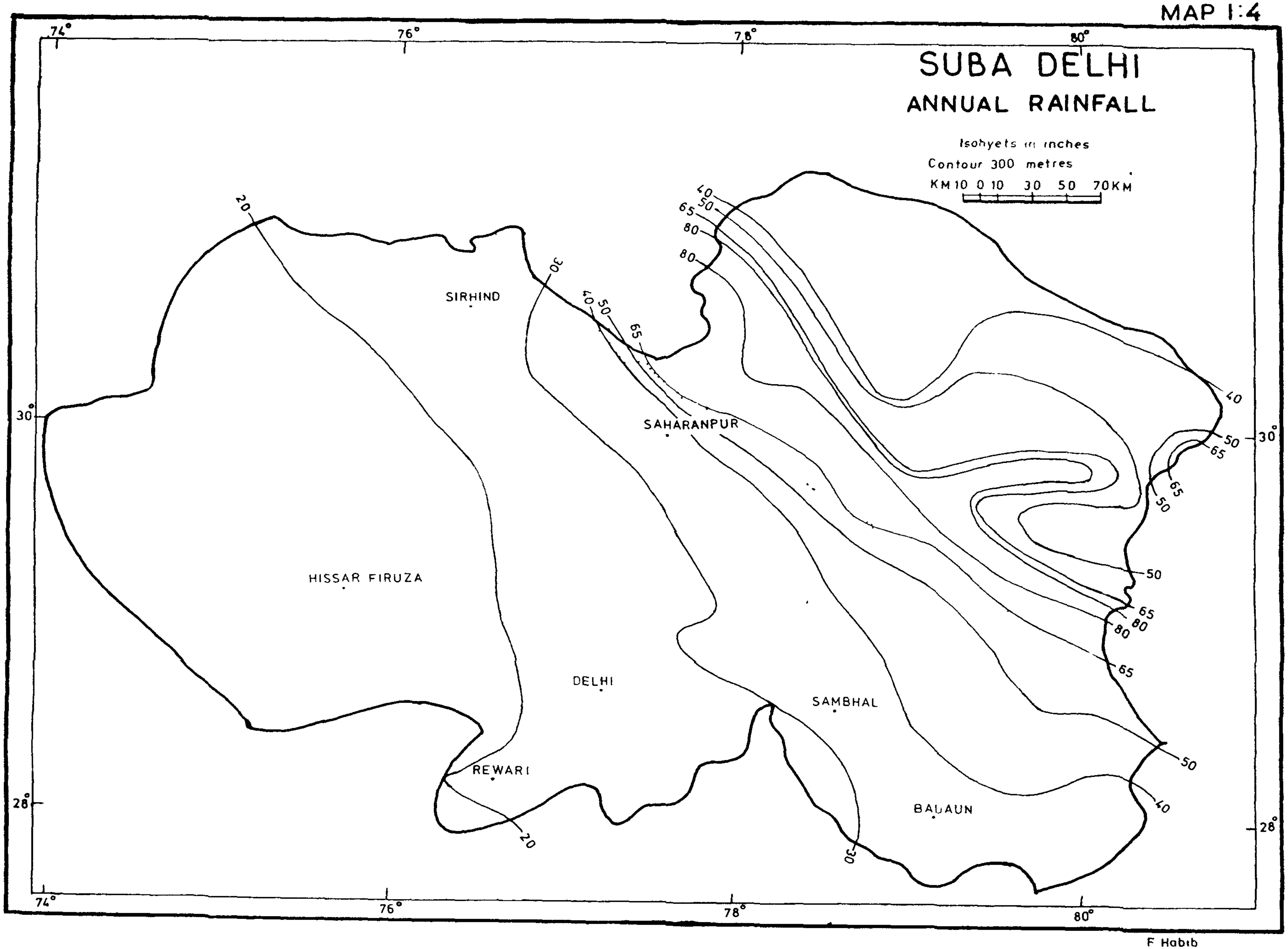
The rainfall largely determines the pattern of natural vegetation: there are natural forests along the base of the mountain ranges in the north-east, where rainfall is heaviest; and there is desert towards the south-west, where it tends to be minimal.

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1. Albert T. Walker, Memoirs of the Indian Meteorological Department, Vol. XXIII, part VII, 1924, pp. 297-324, 337-46.

2. See the map for details.

MAP 1:4


SUBA DELHI
ANNUAL RAINFALL
Isohyets in inches
Contour 300 metres
KM 10 0 10 30 50 70 KM
SIRHIND
HISSAR FIRUZA
SAHARANPUR
DELHI
REWARI
SAMBHAL
BADAUN
74°
76°
78°
80°
30°
28°
20
30
40
50
65
80
F Habib

In Mughal times the sub-montane forests, now known as the Tarai, were larger and denser. We have evidence of wild elephants being found in large numbers near the Dun Valley.[1] The rhinoceros was found in sarkār Sambhal.[2] Furthermore, a line of forest stretched down the river Jamuna all the way to Delhi and Agra.[3] The Āʾīn-i-Akbarī refers to forests in Jalalabad and Jalalpur-Baraut, parganas not far from Delhi in the Doāb.[4] There were belts of forest along the Ganga (pargana Garh-muktesar) as well.[5] A modern work, the Tārīkh-i-Amroha refers to dense forests which extended from Ḥasanpūr towards the northern-hills.[6] The 15th century Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī describes a long stretch of dense forest around Aonla.[7]

1. Lāhorī II, 334, 336. Khalīlullāh Khān sent 29 wild elephants to Shāhjahān from the territory of Hardwar and Kumāūn.
2. Āʾīn, I, 514.
3. Bernier, 375.
4. Āʾīn, I, 519.
5. Muḥammad Kāẓim, ʿĀlamgīr-nāma, Calcutta, 1868, vol.I, p.452.
6. Maḥmūd Aḥmad Abbāsī, Tārīkh-i-Amroha, Amroha, 1930, vol. I, p.6.
7. Yaḥya bin Aḥmad bin ʿAbdullāh Sirhindī, Tārīkh-i-Mubārak-shāhī, Calcutta, 1931, p.187. For details see Henry M. Elliot, Memoirs on the History, Folk-Lore and Distribution of the Races of the North-Western Provinces of India, an amplified edition of the Supplementary Glossary of Indian Terms, ed. by John Beames, London, 1869, vol.II, p.150. We do not know how far this forest was cleared by the Mughal times. It is stated that Rāʾi Mukrund (governor of Bareilly in 1657) cut down the sāl forest to the west of the old city (Bareilly). Cf. S.M. Meons, Report on the Settlement of Bareilly District, Allahabad, 1874, p.28. Traces of it still survived. See H.R. Nevill, District Gazetteers of the United Province of Agra and Oudh, Allahabad, 1903-30 (District Bareilly, Badāūn, Shahjahanpur and Pillibhit).

When in the 17th century the limits of sūba Delhi were extended to the Sutlej, a small portion of the Lakhi Jangal, apparently lying in the flood lands of the Sutlej came within sūba Delhi.[1] The Hālāt-i-Manāzil az Shāhjahānābād ta Kābul, an 18th century work also refers to some scattered forests met with near Sabhalakha, Panipat, ʿAẓimābād and Shahabad. Near Sabhalakha there was a dhāk and palās jungle. At Panipat there was a khar tree jungle, while ʿAẓimābād had dhāk and babūl jungles.[2]

The Thār desert encroached upon sūba Delhi in the south-west. The Āʾīn-i-Akbarī, specifically mentions the stretch of sandy desert around Sidhmukh.[3] The exact line of the desert was probably the same as now; and the Chitang river disappeared at Bhadrā as it does now on modern maps.[4]

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1. Kāghazāt-i-Mutafarriqa, 85b, for the pargana of Lakhi Jangal. The Āʾīn (I, 533) also has a mahal called Jangal in the 'Birun-i-Panjnad , tract of sarkār Dipālpūr, later transferred to sarkār Sirhind, sūba Delhi. The Lakhi Jangal described by Sujān Rāʾi Bhandārī (63).

2. ʿAbdul Qādir Khān, Hālāt-i-Manāzil az Shāhjahānābād ta kābul, Farsia Akhbār, 237, University Collection, A.M.U., 1211 AH/1796 AD, ff.2b-4b.

3. Āʾīn, I,527.

4. Ibid, 514-15.

Chapter 2

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

1. Extent of Cultivation

The only way to estimate the extent of cultivation in the Mughal sūba of Delhi is by attempting a study of the measured area or ārāẓī statistics. Moreland believed that the Āīn's ārāẓī figures represented the gross-cropped area only.[1] Irfan Habib suggested that it covered cultivated land, cultivable waste and a part of unculturable waste.[2] This has been corroborated by the evidence brought together by Shireen Moosvi.[3]

A further problem in using ārāẓī figures is that measurement was not uniform or complete everywhere; though during Aurangzeb's reign it seems to have been almost completed.[4] But we can still compare the ārāẓī figures we have with the map area to obtain some impression of the relative extent of the measured area in the Mughal period. Elliot identified almost all the parganas listed in the Āīn

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1. W.H. Moreland, 'Agricultural Statistics of Akbar's Empire', JUPHS, 1919, Vol. II, p.16.
2. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, Bombay, 1963, p.5.
3. Shireen Moosvi, 'The Magnitude of the Land-Revenue Demand', MIM, Lucknow, 1977, Vol.IV, p.97 & passim.
4. The number of measured villages was 43,512, while only 1,576 villages remained unmeasured. (Dastūr-ul-ʿAmal, MS. Fraser-86, Bodleian Library, Oxford, f.2a).

that lay within Uttar Pradesh (excluding Awadh).[1] Irfan Habib's Atlas shows headquarters of parganas of the ṣūba lying outside Uttar Pradesh as well.[2] I have calculated my map-area by using the sheets of this Atlas. Since within Uttar Pradesh almost all the parganas have been identified, the boundaries of the sarkārs are more or less reliable here, in comparison to the Punjab where a smaller number of parganas have been traced.

After Akbar changes were introduced in the limits of the ṣūba boundaries.[3] The maḥal lists of the last year of Aurangzeb, contained in British Museum (MS. 6586), help us to establish the ṣūba and sarkār boundaries, as they ran at that time.

We find that at the time of the Āʾīn the ārāẓī for the whole ṣūba was 54.92% of the map-area. By Aurangzeb's reign taking the figures for measured land (zamīn-i-paimūda) in the Chahār-Gulshan and an earlier record as our guide, it would seem to have increased to 64.37% of the map-area. This excludes Nārnaul and Tijāra, transferred to ṣūba Delhi in the meantime. If we include Nārnaul and Tijāra sarkārs the ārāẓī, specified in the Āʾīn, amounted to 54.89% of the map-area;

1. Elliot, Memoirs, II, 83 and passim.

2. Irfan Habib, An Atlas of the Mughal Empire, Delhi, 1982, see sheets 4a, 6a and 8a.

3. See Chapter 1.

and the measured area recorded during Aurangzeb's reign was 66.93% or 66.62% (depending on variant MSS. readings).[1]

The sarkār-wise figures of the map-area and ārāzī during Akbar's reign and the later years of Aurangzeb's reign are given in Table I.

Table I

Ārāzī in Comparison to Map Area (in percent)

(Map area = 100)

Ṣūba/sarkār		Āīn[2]	Fraser[3]	Chahār Gulshan[3]
Total ṣūba excluding Nārnaul and Tijāra sarkārs		54.92		64.37
Total ṣūba including Nārnaul and Tijāra sarkārs		54.89	66.93	66.62
Sarkār Delhi		80.48		77.47
" Badāūn		31.02		64.27
" Sambhal		66.27		80.22
" Faiẓābād " Saharanpur	Saharanpur	93.53		90.84
" Rewari		88.66		71.41
" Hissār Fīrūza		23.07		35.30
" Sirhind		61.19		69.87
" Tijāra		107.77		19.45
" Nārnaul		46.51		101.38

1. Rāī Chaturman Saksena, Chahār-Gulshan, MS. Aligarh Muslim University, Abdus Salam Collection, Tārīkh Mughal, 292/62, f. 48a; Fraser, 2a.

2. All the figures of the Āīn are calculated.

3. Ārāzī figures of Fraser-86 and of Chahār Gulshan are given in bīgha-i-Daftarī. I have converted bīgha-i-Daftarī into bīgha-i-Ilāhī. Bīgha-i-Daftarī is 2/3rd of the bīgha-i-Ilāhī (See Agrarian System, 364 fn.7).

The table broadly suggests that the territorial variations in the relative size of ārāzī were governed by the extent of rainfall and hilly-terrain. In relation to the map-area the ārāzī is comparatively small in extent near the desert zone, as in Hissār-Fīrūza. Lying in or on the fringe of the forest zone sarkār Badāūn exhibits a small extent of ārāzī during Akbar's reign (31.02 of the map-area), when it was apparently well forested. There must have been extensive clearings here, subsequently, for, by Aurangzeb's reign the measured area reached 64.27% of the map-area, i.e. achieving about the same ratio to the map-area as the ṣūba in general. Elliot referring to records of 1119 fasli/1718-19 AD confirms this process of clearing in the area.[1]

Though, on the whole, the ārāzī in the ṣūba increased between the reigns of Akbar and Aurangzeb, in some areas it seems to have declined. Thus in the sarkārs of Delhi and Saharanpur (including sarkār Faiẓābād) the measured area declined marginally.[2]

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1. Qānūngo papers cited by Elliot, Memoirs, II, 168. He refers to the clearances in pargana Gola : "... we must presume as if of course highly probable, that the greater portion of this modern Gola must have been uncultivated in Akbar's time, and that, the northern and eastern boundaries being undefined, new clearances, as they were made were added to the original mahal of Gola; so that when the zillābandī was subsequently made, its limits had increased to an extent utterly inconsistent with the entry in the Āin-i-Akbarī" (see also W.H.Moreland, 'Agricultural conditions of the U.P. and districts', p.5, and Agrarian System, 15 (where there is a reference to the disappearance of forests in Aonla).

The measured area figures for sarkār Rewari show a marked decline from 88.66% to 71.41%. Possibly, here, there was a diminution not in cultivation but in the area surveyed, as its jama' increased more or less in proportion to the increase in the sūba. The total increase in jama' for the sūba was 82.68 or 58.14% (depending on different MSS. readings)[1]; the jama' of Rewari increased by 57.99 or 42.60%.

There is a marked decline also in the ārāẓī figures of sarkār Tijāra. During the period of the Āʼīn it was 107.77% of the map-area[2], while during Aurangzeb's reign it was only 19.45% of the map-area. But the increase in jama' in this sarkār is more than proportionate to the increase in the sūba as a whole (173.86 or 82.44% as against 82.68 or 58.14% for the sūba). This suggests that, measurement had ceased to be undertaken on a large scale in Aurangzeb's time in this sarkār.

On the other hand, the adjoining sarkār of Nārnaul shows an increase in its ārāẓī, from 46.51 to 101.38% of the map-area.

One can expect that the changes in measured area should actually reflect the changes in area under cultivation. If we take the increase in measured area as representing the actual extension of cultivation then the jama', too, should

1. See Table II.

2. This was possible because, owing to double-cropping, the same cultivated land would be measured again.

have increased accordingly.

The Table II & III show the *jama':ārāzī* index (*Āʾīn*=100) for the entire *ṣūba* and various *sarkārs*.

Table II

Ārāzī and Jama' Indices

Āʾīn=100

Ṣūba/sarkār	Ārāzī Chahār Gulshan	JAMA' Kāghazāt-i-Mutafarriqa	JAMA' Chahār Gulshan
Total *ṣūba* including Nārnaul and Tijāra *sarkārs*	127.14	182.68	158.14
Sarkār Delhi	93.78	292.41	198.99
" Badāūn	231.28	308.39	335.93
" Sambhal	112.13	322.35	212.75
" Saharanpur	95.94	160.87	166.57
" Rewari	80.55	157.99	142.60
" Hissār Fīrūza	153.00	130.38	168.19
" Sirhind	136.97	138.38	151.28
" Tijāra	18.05	273.86	182.44
" Nārnaul	217.94	146.39	150.53

Table III

Jama' per bigha of ārāẓi

Ṣūba / Sarkārs	Āin-i-Akbarī	Chahār-Gulshan
Total ṣūba excluding Nārnaul and Tijāra sarkārs	21.03	-
Total ṣūba including Nārnaul and Tijāra sarkārs	21.33	26.53
Sarkār Delhi	17.39	36.90
" Badāūn	18.37	26.69
" Sambhal	16.58	31.47
" Saharanpur	24.88	43.19
" Rewari	24.94	44.15
" Hissār Fīrūza	16.87	18.54
" Sirhind	20.79	22.97
" Tijāra	23.92	241.74
" Nārnaul	68.97	16.94

In the sarkārs of Badāūn and Sambhal there seems to have been a real extension in cultivation since the increase in ārāẓi, here, is accompanied by an increase in the jama'; higher than the proportional increase in total ṣūba.

In the sarkārs of Sirhind and Hissār-Fīrūza, both the ārāẓi and jama' increased. The increase in the jama',

however, did not keep pace with the general increase at the *sūba* level.

In *sarkār* Nārnaul the measured area exceeded the map-area, but *jama'* too increased there, keeping pace with the total increase in the *sūba*, suggesting perhaps a real increase in the extent of cultivation.

In the *sarkārs* of Delhi, Saharanpur and Rewari, the measured area declined but the *jama'* of *sarkār* Delhi increased more than proportionately to the increase in the *jama'* of the *sūba*. In the *sarkārs* of Saharanpur and Rewari the increase was comparatively smaller.

2. Methods of Cultivation and Means of Irrigation

There are practically no descriptions of the methods of cultivation pursued by peasants in the *sūba* of Delhi. It is to be assumed that by and large the methods were the same as in other parts of Northern India.

The *Hālāt-i-Manāzil-az-Shāhjahānābād ta kābul* refers to double-cropping along the Delhi - Lahore route in the *parganas* of Narela, Gannaur, Sabha-Lakha, Karnal, 'Azimābād, Thanesar, Ambala, Sarāi Raja, Sirhind and Sarāi Lashkar

Khān.[1] A comparison of the map-area with the ārāzī (which included gross-cultivated area) in the Āīn-i-Akbarī shows that the latter exceeds the map-area in the dastūr-circles of Meerut, Palwal, Sohna, Kairana and Indri.[2] This would have been possible only if large areas were double-cropping (and so were remeasured) in these tracts. In some areas even three crops are said to have been harvested.[3] Two English travellers praised the cultivation between Agra and Lahore (via Delhi) as the best in India.[4] Bernier observed that "the neighbourhood of Delhi is extremely fertile".[5] Manrique, Manucci and the Hālāt-i-manāzil-az-Shāhjahānābād ta kābul are also full of praise for the fertile and well-irrigated lands of the ṣūba.[6]

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1. Hālāt-i-Manāzil-az-Shāhjahānābād-ta-kābul, 1b-5-b
2. Map area = 100

Dastūr-circles	Ārāzī
Palwal	138.98
Meerut	107.87
Sohna	190.93
Kairana	126.53
Indri	109.14

3. Āīn, I, 513; Sujan Rai, 39.
4. Richard Steel and John Crowther, 'Journall of the Journey from Ajmere in India 1615-16' Purchas His Pilgrimes, MacLehose, Glasgow, 1905, Vol.IV, p.268. They say that "all the country betwixt Agra and Lahore is exceedingly well tilled and manured being the best of India and plentiful of all things". "Manured" then meant "cultivated" and does not necessarily imply application of manure or natural fertilizers.
5. Bernier, 283.
6. F.S. Manrique, Travels, 1629-43, tr. C.E. Luard, assisted by Father H. Hosten, Hakluyt Society, 1927, Vol.II, p.180; N. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, 1653-1708, tr. William Irvine, Reprint Calcutta, 1966, vol. II, p.396; Hālāt-i-Manāzil-az-Shāhjahānābād ta kābul, 1b-5b.

Although the cultivation in the province, generally, depended upon rainfall[1], this was not sufficient for many crops and had to be supplemented by artificial means of irrigation. The means employed for this purpose were wells, tanks and canals.

Sujān Rāi speaks of the prevalence of well-irrigation (chāhī) in the sūba[2]. Bernier mentions wells between Delhi and Agra for both drinking and irrigation purposes.[3] The Hālāt-i-manāzil-az Shāhjahānābād ta kābul refers to wells along the road in the parganas of Narela, Sabha-Lakha, Panipat, Gharaunda, Thanesar, Karnal, Shahabad, Sarāi Raja, Sirhind, Sarāi Kuhna, Sarāi Lashkar Khān and Ludhiana.[4] In the sarkār Hissār, on the other hand, the water-level was very low; and wells, here, had to be excavated to great depths.[5]

For lifting water from the wells, there was, first the rahat or arhat, the 'Persian-wheel'.[6] According to Bābur, who offers a description of this machine (then made of wood, hempen rope and earthen pots), the area where it was used

1. Bāburnāma, Turkish Codex, f. 274b, Eng. tr., p.488; Āin, I, 513; Sujān Rāi, 39.
2. Sujān Rāi, 39.
3. Bernier, 284.
4. Hālāt-i-manāzil-az-Shāhjahānābād ta kābul, 1b-5b.
5. Āin, I, 515.
6. Elliot, Memoirs, II, 219-20; Irfan Habib, Presidential address, IHC, Varanasi, 1969, pp.149-155.

included Lahore, Dipālpūr and Sirhind[1]; so that the rahat must have been used widely in those parts of the sūba which lay to the west of the Yamuna. Along the Yamuna and to the east, it is likely that the charas or earthen-bucket lifted by rope (passing over a wheel) and pulled by two bullocks was in use. Bābur observed the use of this device in Agra and surrounding territory.[2]

Sometimes dams (bands) were made over seasonal channels to create reservoirs. Lāhorī mentions a band on the "Karnal stream" built by Aṣālat Khān near Palam.[3] There was a reservoir at Bhadra, the Chitang flowing into it as its terminal point.[4] A big reservoir existed in Sirhind but this had probably no irrigational significance being rather made to surround a tomb reached by a bridge.[5] The Hālāt-i-Manāzil-az Shāhjahānābād ta kābul also notes such reservoir in the parganas of Thanesar, Sirhind, Sarāi Lashkar Khān and

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1. Bāburnāma, Eng. tr. Beveridge, 486. Mrs. Beveridge omits Sirhind but see Bāburnāma, Turkish Codex, 273b-274a. It clearly mentions Sirhind.

2. Ibid, Eng. tr. Beveridge, 487.

3. Lāhorī, II, 112. The dam was constructed during the year 1638.

4. Āin, I, 514-15.

5. Father S.J. Monserrate, Commentary on his Journey to the Court of Akbar, tr. J.S. Hoyland and annoted by S.N. Banerjee, London, 1922, p.102; Manrique, II, 182-3; Hālāt-i-Manāzil-az-Shāhjahānābād ta kābul, 5a.

Ludhiana.[1] Tanks were also used for irrigation in the parganas of Karnal, Shahabad, Sarāi Kuhna and Ambala (masonry tank).[2] Usually, these tanks were employed for irrigation of orchards and gardens only.[3]

3. Canals

Another important source of irrigation was provided by canals on which our information happens to be so large as to deserve a section for itself. The first important canal was the Eastern Yamuna canal, which took off from the foot-hills of Sirmūr and ran as far as Ranap (a royal hunting preserve on the left bank of the Yamuna nearly opposite Delhi) and Bādshāhmaḥal (an old hunting seat situated in the forests north of Nayashahr).[4] It is supposed to have been originally laid out by ʿAlī Mardān Khān during the reign of Shāhjahān[5]; but its construction was probably carried out during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh.[6]

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1. Hālāt-i-Manāzil-az Shāhjahānābād ta kābul, 3b-5b.

2. Ibid, 3a, 4a-5a.

3. The royal orchard of Sirhind was irrigated by the big reservoir of Sirhind. Monserrate, 102; In the orchard of Muqarrab Khān there was also a reservoir for irrigating the orchard. Muʿatamad Khān, Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngiri, Nawal Kishore, 1869-70, vol. III, p.557.

4. Edwin T. Atkinson, Statistical Descriptive and Historical Account of the North Western Provinces of India, Allahabad, 1875, Vol. IIIi, p.5.

5. Ibid, IIi, p.6; IIii, p.4.

6. H.R. Nevill, District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Lucknow, 1921, Vol. II, p.58; Vol. III & IV, Allahabad, 1903 & 4, p.49.

The other major canal was the well-known "Western Yamuna Canal" originally dug by Fīrūz Shāh.[1] It consisted of two major feeder canals "Rajabwāh and Ulughkhānī". It took off from the Yamuna near the point it left the hills and ran to Hānsī and Hissār.[2]

By the 16th century Fīrūz Shāh's canal seems to have become silted up. Akbar's sanad of 1570-71 recites that while previously the canal used to carry water for at least four or five months in the year; now it had become so choked that for the last hundred years the waters have not flowed past the boundary of Kythal and thence to Hissār".[3] Clearly the reference is to the upper canal of Fīrūz Shāh, the "Ulughkhānī" which ran into the Chitang near Ladwah. Otherwise the canal would have nowhere been near the limits of Kaithal. As a memorandum of 1635 (shortly to be discussed) shows the channel of Chitang R. actually ran through pargana Kaithal, and entered the chakla of Hissār after passing through "the boundary of Kaithal" (see below).

The first major work on the canal in Akbar's time seems to have been carried out by Shihābuddin Khān, who

1. Shams Sirāj Afīf, Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī, ed. Wilāyat Husain, Calcutta, 1891, pp. 127-129.

2. For further details see my article "Irrigating Haryana: The Pre-Modern History of the Western Yamuna Canal", paper read at the IHC, Kurukshetra, 1982.

3. Lieut. Yule, 'A Canal act of the Emperor Akbar, with some notes and remarks on the history of the Western Jumna Canal, JASB, Calcutta, Vol. XV (1846), p.214. A translation of the sanad is given but not the text; which seems to have remained unpublished. The original copy of the sanad was obtained by S.A. Abbot, incharge of Kaithal, from 'Abdul Samad and 'Abdul Mustakim, Pīrzādas of Dhatrat.

was Governor of Delhi about the year 1560.[1] Since the canal is said to have run from the Yamuna to safedon, it must have been the 'Rajabwāh', rather than the 'Ulughkhānī' that was re-excavated. The renovated canal was named 'Shahābnahr'.[2]

Later on Akbar himself ordered the renewal of the canal in the year 978 AH/1570-71 AD. A farmān (sanad) of Akbar dated 978 AH/1570-71 AD issued at Fīrūzpūr, is concerned with the opening of the canal, which was to be called (Shaikhū-nī' ('Shaikhnai' in the translation).[3] The same name is given to it by Badāūnī.[4] The name was given after Jahāngīr, whom Akbar always called Shaikhū Bābā, and who was born in 1569.[5] The sanad does not refer to the 'Shahābnahr', which can only be explained by assuming that the order had in mind the 'Ulughkhānī' rather than the 'Rajabwāh'. The sanad confirms this by referring to the fact that Fīrūz Shāh's canal had ceased to flow beyond 'the limits of Kaithal'. Akbar ordered the renewal of the canal right from the foot-hills near Khizrābād. The water was collected in the Sonb

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1. Akbarnāma, II, 94, Badāūnī, II, 36.
2. Muḥammad Wāris, Bādshāh-nāma, transcript in the Department of History, A.M.U., p.39. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kāmbo, 'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ or Shāhjahān-nāma, ed. Ghulam Yazdani, Calcutta, 1939, vol. III, p.29.
3. Sanad of Akbar trans. in Yule, 'A Canal Act ---' JASB vol. XV, 1846, p.215.
4. Badāūnī, III, 198.
5. Jahāngīr, Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī, ed. Syed Aḥmad, Aligarh, 1864, p.1.

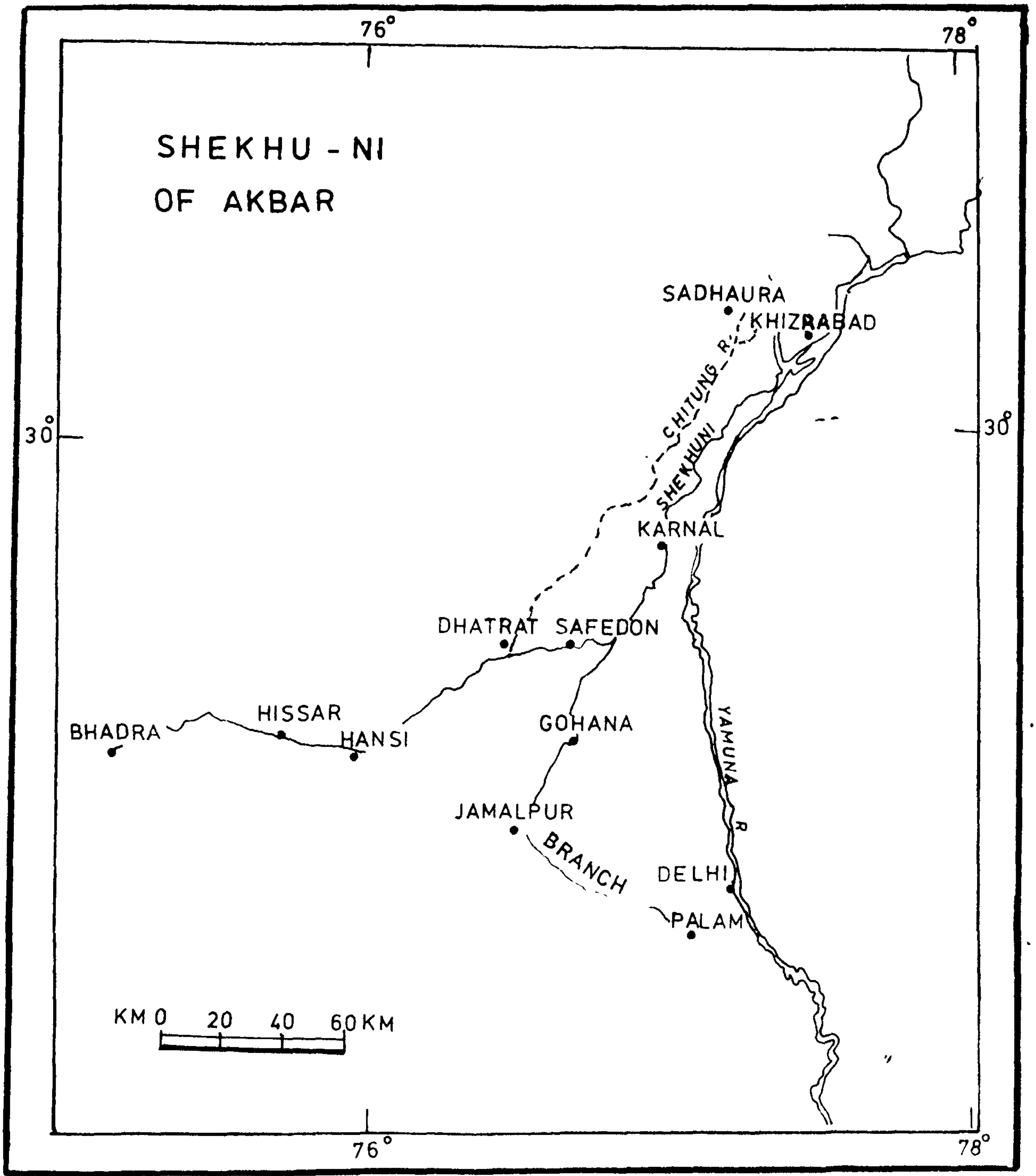
river from different streams and nālas which used to flow into the Yamuna. It would thus seem that the source of the canal was close to that of the 'Ulughkhānī'. But the canal ran into the bed of the 'Rajabwāh', instead of joining the Chitang directly. This is shown by Abūl Fazl's reference to the 'Shekhūnī' passing by Karnal.[1] Badāūnī also tells us that the canal ran past Karnal to Safedon.[2] Moreover, the sanad says that the canal flowed into the Chitang at a distance of about a hundred kurohs from Khizrābād. This would show that the junction was the one near Dhatrat where Fīrūz Shāh's 'Rajabwāh' used to join the Chitang (IA Sheet 48), rather than the one of the 'Ulughkhānī' with Chitang near Ladwah. Akbar's sanad contains no reference to the canal - head being in the Yamuna. Apparently the canal simply took water from the streams falling into the Yamuna from the west. But the 'Shahābnahr' ('Rajabwāh') which it joined above Karnal might still have been carrying water from Yamuna river. This may be the reason for Badāūnī's statement that the 'Shekhū-nī' was excavated from the Yamuna. (See Map 2 : 1)

Akbar ordered that the canal be deepened and widened so that it might supply water all through the year up to Hānsī and Hissār. Wherever necessary 'bunds' were to be

1. Āʾīn, I, 520.

2. Badāūnī, III, 198.

MAP 2:1



SHEKHU - NI
OF AKBAR
76°
78°
30°
SADHAURA
KHIZRABAD
CHITUNG R.
SHEKHUNI
KARNAL
DHATRAT
SAFEDON
HISSAR
BHADRA
HANSI
GOHANA
YAMUNA R
JAMALPUR
BRANCH
DELHI
PALAM
KM 0 20 40 60 KM
F. Habib

built, and the *shiqdārs*, *chaudhrīs*, *muqaddams* and the *raiyat* (peasants) of all the *parganas* were required to give the necessary assistance in the shape of labour, etc. Arrangements were to be made to distribute water from the canal "at the season of cultivation". Bridges were to be built along with bunds. Nūruddīn Muḥammad Tarkhān, described by Badā'ūnī as the builder of the canal, is designated the *mīr-i-āb* (canal Superintendent) in the *sanad*.

It was also ordered that the canal was to be made navigable by having a large channel, so that boats may ply on it.

As for the use of water for irrigation purposes, Akbar directed that people in each *parganas* should be made "satisfied with the number of cuts" equally distributed among different *parganas*, and no one should take more than their due share.

Badā'ūnī confirms the statements in the *sanad* and tells us that the canal was dug by Mullā Nūruddīn Muḥammad Tarkhān, who held the *pargana* of Safedon in *jāgīr*. He renamed it 'Shekhū-nī' after Prince Salim. The canal was excavated from the Yamuna, fifty kurohs (about 125 miles) in length, and ran past Karnal and beyond that town.[1]

1. Ibid.

Badāūnī adds that it resulted in a considerable extension of cultivation and a great increase in the prosperity of the people.[1]

Akbar's sanad regarding the construction of the 'Shekhūnī' is dated Shawwal AH 978/Feb-March 1571 AD; but it refers to an earlier farmān issued in AH 977/1569-70 AD ordering the construction of the canal. The sanad also contains verses apparently added to copies of the sanad; these give a chronogram which yields 978 AH (AD 1570-71).[2] Badāūnī gives another chronogram "Shaikhūnī" yielding 977 AH/ 1569-70 AD, which conforms to the year Akbar's farmān ordering its construction had been issued.[3] We may then say that the excavation of the canal began in 1569-70 and was completed the next year.

The 'Shekhū-nī' might well have been a perennial canal to judge from the two masonry bridges over it, one at Karnal, the other at Safedon.[4] The Karnal bridge was mentioned by Monserrate in Akbar's time.[5] It is a bridge of three arches and still stands. The Safedon bridge must also belong to his time, since Shāhjahān's 'Nahr-i-Bihisht' did not run past Safedon.

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1. Ibid.
2. Sanad of Akbar, 216. The chronogram reads ābādshaikhnī (978 AH/1570-71 AD).
3. Badāūnī, III, 198.
4. Sanderson, A Guide to the Buildings and Gardens, Calcutta, 1929, p.40 & fn.
5. Monserrate, 98. This was a stone bridge.

It seems that a branch of the 'Shekhū-nī' was taken beyond Safedon down to Palam to the west of the Delhi ridge. Lāhorī mentions a visit by Shāhjahān in the 11th R.Y., to a garden irrigated from a dam built by Aṣālat Khān near Palam on "the Karnal stream", which can, of course, only mean a branch of the 'Shekhū-nī,' which used to run by Karnal.[1] On the Indian Atlas sheet a channel can indeed be traced running to the proximity of Palam from the 'Rajbuka' (Rajabwāh') channel, which, as we have seen above, the 'Shekhū-nī' had utilized.

We are fortunate in possessing an anonymous memorandum on Chitang river, which, though undated, belongs to the reign of Shāhjahān, for it uses the characteristic designation of that Fmperor 'Ālā Ḥaẓrat'.[2] The document can be more precisely dated, since it states that the faujdārī of chakla Sahrind (Sirhind) had been placed under the jurisdiction of Sayyid Bāqir Khān. The only 'Bāqir Khān' in the lists of manṣab holders in Lāhorī and the 'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ' is Bāqir Khān Najm -i-Sani, usually called simply Bāqir Khān. This noble served in Orissa early in Shāhjahān's reign, but was appointed Governor of Delhi in the 8th R.Y. (AD 1635).[3] He was replaced by Aṣālat Khān during the same year.[4] Since

1. Lāhorī, II, 112. Aṣālat Khān was appointed Governor of Delhi in the 8th R.Y. of Shāhjahān's reign and retained his office till the 12th R.Y. Lāhori, I(ii), 87,280.
2. Included in the letters of Bālkrishan Brahman and other papers, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 16,859, ff.107a-109b.
3. Lāhorī, I(ii), 72,76. The 8th R.Y. happens to correspond almost wholly with the Christian year 1635.
4. Ibid. 87. See M. Athar Ali, Apparatus of Empire, Delhi, 1985, p.128 (entries S 1040-41).

chakla Sirhind belonged to sūba Delhi, it must have been during the brief viceroyalty of Bāqir Khān that the faujdārī of chakla Sirhind could have been given to him. He died in the 10th regnal year while holding charge of the sūba of Allahabad.[1] The word chakla in connection with Sirhind occurs as early as the 5th regnal year[2], so that its use in our document does not itself suggest as later a date as was presumed by Irfan Habib.[3]

The year 1635 is important, because this explains why the Memorandum omits any reference to Shāhjahān's construction of the West Yamuna canal in its detailed account of the water supply in Chitang river, which would have been unlikely had that canal been already excavated.

The Memorandum begins by referring to the complaint of peasants of the chakla of Hissār "who are greatly distressed from the intensity of drought and lack of water and help from seasons". They had petitioned that the channel (nahr) of Chitang should be opened. Accordingly, the Emperor had ordered the anonymous writer of the Memorandum to proceed with a skilled māmar (architect, mason) and give a report on the amount of expenditure needed for bringing water into the channel, the amount of time to be spent on this, and the number of parganas which would receive benefit from the

1. Ibid, 274.
2. Ibid, I, (i), 409. The 'chakla' of Hissār is also mentioned under R.Y. 5 in Lāhorī, I,(i), 432.
3. Agrarian system, p.33; fn. 48.

projected work.

The writer accordingly reports that the channel of Chitang originates in the mountains of Sadhaura 80 kurohs (over 200 miles) from Hissār. The Chitang, he says, runs through the parganas of Sadhaura, Buriya, Mustafabad, Indri, Karnal, Thanesar, Pundri, Fatehpur and Kaithal, belonging to the chakla of Sirhind. Leaving the "boundary of Kythal"[1], it ran through the parganas of Khanda, Dhatrat, Jind, and Hānsī, before reaching Hissār. These latter mahals belonged to the chakla of Hissār.

This is precisely the course of Chitang as shown in the survey maps.

The Memorandum says that the peasants of the mahals of chakla Hissār had given an undertaking to let "the water pass through their limits till it reaches Hissār". But for chakla Sirhind, Sayyid Bāqir Khān, who held its faujdārī jurisdiction, had to be approached. For this purpose it was recommended that a Mīr-i-Āb (Canal Superintendent) and a mi'mar from the Imperial establishment be appointed and a farmān issued to the faujdār of chakla Sirhind to furnish the Mīr-i-āb with the necessary information. He should also oblige the zamīndārs and peasants of chakla Sirhind to give

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1. One is reminded here of Akbar's sanad which said that the Channel ran dry before it reached the boundary of Kaithal".

the necessary undertakings. They must join the work, let the water flow from its source, and build strong dykes (bands) at two or three places, which may be raised by the Mīr-i-Āb with the help of the ma'mar and the zamīndārs.

The writer recommended that funds be sanctioned for the work from the Imperial Treasury and the amount recovered from the people of the two chaklas in instalments presumably through special cesses.

The writer of the Memorandum, himself, had not surveyed the existing channel but reported that people said that in earlier times it carried water in a stream "4 dir'as (yards) broad and one dir'a deep, as can be seen from the traces of its channel in this tract". If the connexion with the source with the mountain springs was restored the water would again flow. But if it was fed only by rain torrents it would only carry water during the rainy season. Either way it would cause much benefit. Obviously the writer of the Memorandum had no recollection of any connexion of the Chitang with Yamuna R.

The Memorandum is particularly important in that it visualises irrigation through distributaries from the revived channel:

"Whenever the water begins to flow in this tract, most of the zamīndārs and peasants will betake themselves cut branches and lay out sub-channels (kārīz-hā) to carry the water to their fields and villages".

The Memorandum is also of some interest in showing that at this time Hissār received no water from the 'Shekhū-nī'. It is possible that already the branch running to Palam, which we have encountered in the 11th regnal year of Shāhjahān (see above), had diverted the waters of that canal in a contrary direction.

It is not known whether any action was taken on the Memorandum. It is not very likely since even clearing the channel of Chitang river would not by itself have brought much water to Hissār. What it could have done was simply to deprive the upper mahals of irrigation water in the interest of the lower mahals.

In any case, in Shāhjahān's West Yamuna Canal the terminal point of the canal was firmly shifted from Hissār to Delhi.

Shāhjahān decided to use the alignment of the 'Shekhū-nī' for a large section of his great canal, the 'Nahr-i-Bihisht,' also called 'Nahr-i-Faiz' and 'Shāhnahr'.[1] The construction

1. See Wāris, 39; Ṣāliḥ, III, 29; Also see Shaikh Muḥammad Baqā, 'Baqā,' Mirāt-ul-Ālam, Aligarh MS, Abdus Salam Collection 314/84, f. 253a; Sujān Rāi, 36; Chahār-Gulshan, 47b; Hālāt-i-Manāzil az Shāhjahānābād ta kābul, 2a.

of this canal was wrongly ascribed to ʿAlī Mardān Khān in later accounts.[1] Wāriṣ as well as Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ say that it was excavated under the supervision of Ghairat Khān.[2] The construction was started on 20 September,1638.[3] Ghairat Khān worked for about four months, whereafter he was transferred to Thatta. The task was now entrusted to Ilāhwardī Khān, then Governor of Delhi, who supervised the work for over two years. The work was finally completed by Mukarmat Khān in 1647-48.[4] This refers to the main canal. The channels and aqueducts distributing its water in the fort of Shāhjahānābād are said to have been completed after a further period of four years in 1650, at the cost of two lakhs of rupees.[5]

According to Wāriṣ and Ṣāliḥ the canal took off from the Yamuna near Khiẓrābād. It used the old canal channel down the Safedon (stated to be about 30 kurohs, or 75 miles); from here a new channel (also 30 kurohs in length) was

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1. Chahār Gulshan, 47b; Hālāt-i-Manāzil az Shāhjahānābād ta Kābul, 2a; W. Francklin, History of the Reign of Shah Aulum, London, 1798, p.208; Major Colvin, 'On the Restoration of the Ancient Canals in the Delhi territory', JASB, vol. II, No.15, March, 1833, p.109.

2. Wāriṣ,39; Ṣāliḥ, III, 29.

3. Ibid. Ṣāliḥ gives the date of foundation 15 Jumadī-ul-Awwal, 1049 AH/13 Sept. 1639.

4. Wāriṣ, 39-40; Ṣāliḥ, III, 29. Ṣāliḥ says that the construction was completed by Ghairat Khān during his tenure as Governor.

5. Ṣāliḥ, III, 116.

excavated to bring the canal to the new city of Delhi or Shāhjahānābād.[1] (See Map 2 : 2)

Later writers give the position of the canal headwaters more precisely, putting it at Mukhlispūr on the Yamuna.[2] Mukhlispūr was a spot much favoured by Shāhjahān[3], and it is not surprising that the cut was made there. The cut is thus described by Sanderson: "The river supply coming down the right bank of the Jumna was bounded up annually at Fatehgarh near Dādūpūr, about 14 miles below Tajawala".[4] Thus the supply into the canal had to be maintained by annual works. The present West Yamuna Canal had its headwaters at Tajewala.[5]

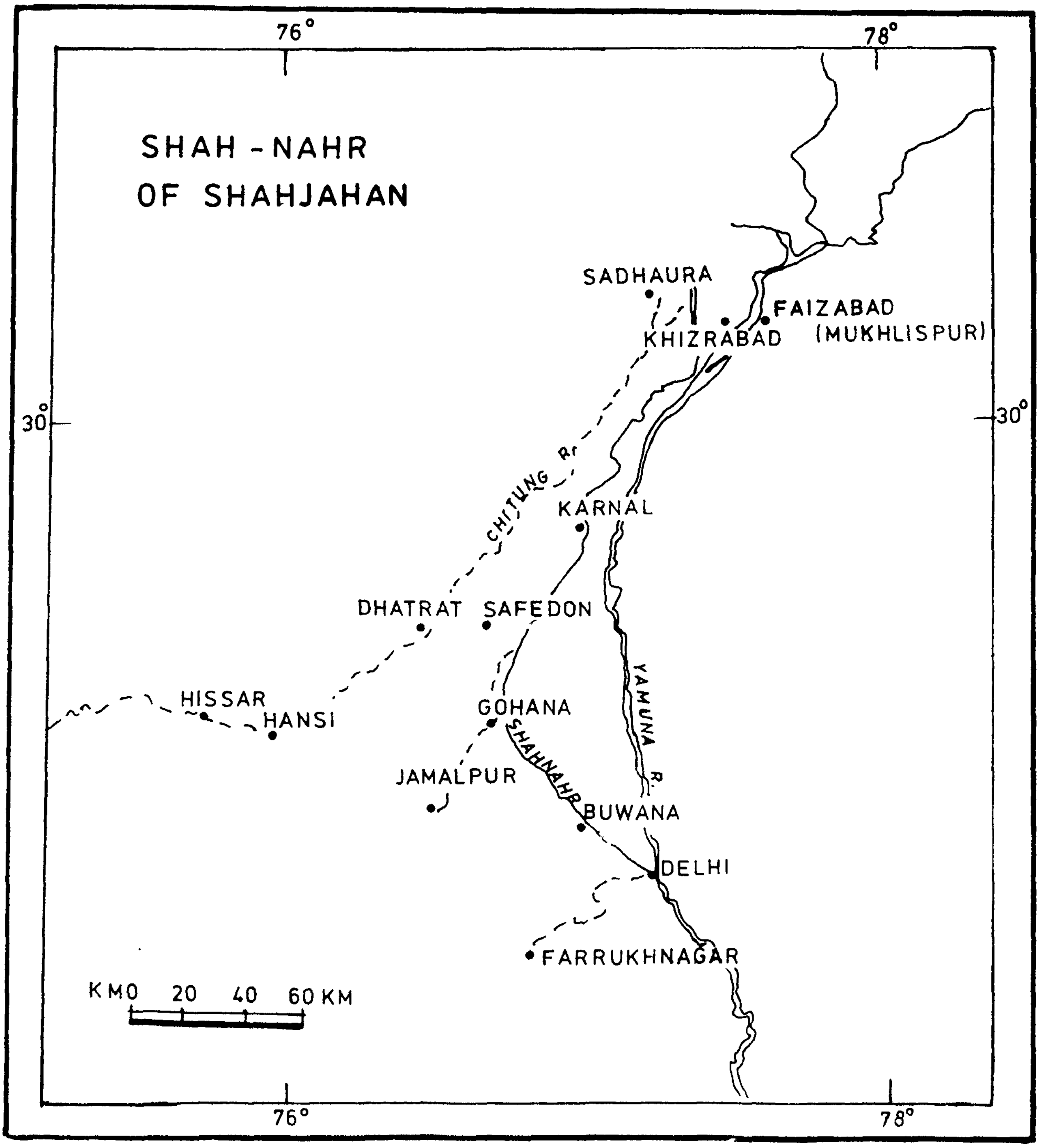
From its headwaters the canal ran by Karnal, as did the Shekhū-nī. This precise information comes from the route map in the Chahār-Gulshan.[6] From here, as Wāriṣ and Ṣāliḥ say, it ran to the proximity of Safedon (see above).

1. Wāriṣ, 39; Ṣāliḥ, III, 29. The distances given by the chroniclers may be compared with the modern distances as the crow flies:

	Waris	From modern maps (approximate)
Khizrābād to Safedon	30 kurohs (75 miles)	70 miles
Safedon to Delhi	30 kurohs (75 miles)	65 miles

2. Sujān Rāi, 29, 36-39; Chahār-Gulshan, 47b; Hālāt-i-Manāzil-az-Shāhjahānābād ta kābul, 2a. Sujān Rāi writes that the cut was made at the base of the hills of Sirmūr, while the Hālāt-i-Manāzil-az-Shāhjahānābād ta kābul puts it below the foot-hills of Nāhan. The location is the same.
3. Cf. Ṣāliḥ, III, 240-41.
4. Sandersen, 40n.
5. Ibid; also see Punjab District Gazetteers, Ambala District, 1892-93, p.11.
6. Chahār-Gulshan, 143a; Hālāt-i-Manāzil-az Shāhjahānābād ta kābul, 3a. It also refers to the masonry bridge near Karnal over the Canal.

MAP 2:2


SHAH - NAHR
OF SHAHJAHAN
76°
78°
30°
30°
SADHAURA
FAIZABAD
(MUKHLISPUR)
KHIZRABAD
CHITUNG R.
KARNAL
DHATRAT
SAFEDON
YAMUNA R.
HISSAR
HANSI
GOHANA
SHAHNAHR
JAMALPUR
BUWANA
DELHI
FARRUKHNAGAR
KM 0 20 40 60 KM
F. Habib

The course of the new channel excavated by Shāhjahān from near Safedon is described by Colvin in his report of 1833.[1] The point where the canal took a southerly direction (as against southwesterly) was Madloda, some miles before Safedon. It ran south to Korana, originally with the idea of connecting it with (drainage from) the Farkhnagar jhil, 15 miles south-west of Delhi. But instead of turning, the canal waters ran on to Gohana (and farther as far as Jamalpur because of natural slope).[2] A natural catastrophe is said to have taken place on the first trials of the works. The water accumulated in the deep hollow at Gohana. It could not be carried through the then existing channel and so the waters inundated Lalpur town. The town ruins were still said to exist in a low hollow in the present Rohtak District.

The accident forced a new course to be designed for the canal. It now passed close to the natural ridge of the country, where the land falls off on each side. From Jatola the new channel joined the course as first laid out.

Colvin thinks that an insurmountable difficulty would have been faced by the canal builders while making "another detour near Bhowana" where it entered low ground around Bhowana and the rise on which the city is situated.

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1. Colvin, 'On the Restoration...' JASB, vol. II, pp.109-110.

2. Ibid, 109. It is also evident from the IA sheet 49.

It appears that the builders saved the canal by providing an outlet "at the upper end of the dangerous spot sufficient to reduce the level of canal".[1] From this spot "the canal instead of being sunk in the ground is carried along an elevated mound" the bottom of which at many places rises higher than the surrounding country". "The lowest portion of this hollow was crossed on an aqueduct of masonry", under which the surplus water of the Farrukhnagar jhil escapes into Yamuna. The canal then enters and strikes the base of the range of the hills to the west of Delhi, the drains from which crosses over the canal by "ancient aqueducts".

The 'Poolchaddar aqueduct' near Delhi took the canal over the Najafgarh jhil drain and acted at the same time as a "waste weir". The measurements of the aqueduct as given by Sanderson are: "the total length 80 ft; thickness of the canal floor 3½ feet; waterway, 16 feet at bed and 19 feet at the top of the parapets, which were 5 feet 9 inches high. The aqueduct was carried on massive 8 feet thick piers with cut waters and arches of 8 feet span over the drainage". Unluckily, I have not been able to find major W.E. Baker's report of 1849 in which these works are described in detail.[2]

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1. This is shown in the <u>IA</u> map as the "Buwana escape".
2. See Sanderson, 40b, where Baker's report is cited.

Somewhere around here was the masonry bridge built by Bakhtāwar Khān, a high official of Aurangzeb. The Mir'āt-ul-ʿĀlam tells us that when the canal used to be in flood it became difficult to cross; so Bakhtāwar had a strong bridge built over it.[1]

In order to reach Delhi, the canal had to pierce the Ridge. Colvin says that the channel is here cut out of the rock to the depth of about 60 feet at the crest.[2] According to Francklin (1798) the cut at 'Mogul Parah' was nearly 3 miles in length, 25 feet in breadth and 25 feet again in depth.[3]

Colvin's report describes how passing through this cut the canal "enters the city (of Delhi); and passing through it by an open channel it traverses another extensive aqueduct into the Palace (the Fort)". Inside the Fort it "ramifies in opened or covered watercourses having outlets to the Jamna, thus permitting the passage of constant streams of fresh water.[4]

4. The Crops ; Productivity :

From the information in the Āʾīn it is difficult to delineate the crop-pattern for the sūba of Delhi. The Āʾīn

1. Mir'āt-ul-ʿālam, 253a.
2. Colvin, 'On the Restoration ----' JASB, Vol. II, p.110.
3. Francklin, 208.
4. Colvin, 'On the Restoration ----' JASB, Vol. II, p.110.

gives the revenue-rates for almost all the crops in all the zabtī-provinces (Agra, Lahore, Allahabad, Awadh and Delhi) and parts of Multan, Ajmer and Malwa. All the crops on the standard schedules occur under all the dastūr-circles of the sūba of Delhi, except for a few minor crops like khardāl, cumin-seed (zīra), coriander-seed (syāh-dāna), āl (red dye), kalt, zard-chōbah and zarūk.[1] Such comprehensive listing does not help us to establish where a particular crop was significant and where it had only an insignificant acreage under it.

Wheat and rice were the staple crops of the province, as noted by the European travellers.[2]

Sugarcane is listed as a crop in the Āʾīn in all the dastūr-circles.[3] Steel and Crowther observed that, "all the country betwixt Agra and Lahore yields great store of powdered sugar".[4] Sugarcane produced in Delhi was of excellent quality[5] and was cultivated in large quantities[6]. Maham in sarkār Hissār Fīrūza was noted for its sugar.[7] A good quality

1. Āʾīn, I, 371-76.
2. Ibid; Monserrate, 214; Manrique, II, 180; Bernier, 283; Jean de Thevenot, 'Relation de L'Indostan etc.' 1666-67 Lovell's tr. of 1687 reprinted with corrections, notes and an introduction by S.N. Sen in the Travels of Thevenot and Careri, New Delhi, 1949, p.68; Manucci, 396. He writes that "its territory is fertile in grain".
3. Āʾīn, I, 371-76.
4. Steel and Crowther, Purchas, IV, 268.
5. Thevenot, 68.
6. Bernier, 283.
7. Āʾīn, I, 527.

of sugar was produced at Serwerpore (Serwerperpore, a place not identified but reported to be 40 'course' wide of Sirhind).[1] The English Factors say that it was not as good as that made at Agra but 'little' and 'well coulered'.[2]

High quality sugar-candy was produced at Maham.[3] Its high price at Sirhind (12 rupees per maund (73.76 lb.) suggests that it was very refined.[4]

The cultivation of cotton is especially noticed in the pargana of Sirsa.[5]

Late 19th century statistics show that wheat is one of the major crops in all the plains districts lying within the Mughal sūba with the exception of small portions of sarkār Sambhal and Badāūn, where rice dominated.[6] Next in

1. EFI, 1637-41, p.134. Prof. Irfan Habib has identified it with 'Fīrozpūr' of ṣūba Lahore (Atlas, 13, sheet 4b).

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., Āʾīn, I, 527.

4. EFI, 1637-41, p.134.

5. Bālkrishan Brahman, 63a.

6. Returns of Agricultural Statistics of British India, 1885-87, Revenue and Agricultural department, Calcutta, 1887-8, pp. 24, 27. Wheat predominates in the whole of the Sutlej-Yamuna-Doāb, Meerut and Rohilkhand divisions with the exception of Dehradun, Bijnor, Bareilly, Pillibhit, Kumāūn and Tarai districts, where rice is grown in much larger area.

importance came sugarcane and cotton. Sugarcane is raised in the territories of the sarkārs of Badāūn and Saharanpur[1]; and the latter in areas corresponding to the sarkārs of Delhi, Sirhind, Hissār and Rewari.[2]

Indigo was noticed by Pelsaert in Mewat. Indigo produced in this region was of an inferior quality and "usually sandy" unlike that of Bayana and therefore had no export market.[3] He estimated the annual yield of the Mewat indigo at about 1000 bales.[4] Indigo produced in Mewat was catered entirely for the internal demand.[5] Thevenot, Bernier and Manrique say that a good quality of indigo was produced, in abundance, in the vicinity of Delhi.[6] Pelsaert writes that method of manufacture adopted in Mewat was that of Sarkhej, "the steeping of the plant, and the working back and forward to extract the dye from the leaves, are done in a single 'put', whereas in Bayana or Gorsa two are used".

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1. Ibid. It is produced in the whole of the Upper-Gangetic-Doāb viz. the whole of the Rohilkhand Division and Dehradun, Meerut and Muzaffarnagar districts of Meerut Division.

2. Ibid. Grown as a major crop in the whole Sutlej-Yamuna-Doāb, Saharanpur and Bulandshahr districts of Meerut Division.

3. Pelsaert, Jahangir's India, tr. W.H. Moreland and Geyl, Delhi, 1972, p.15.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Bernier, 283; Thevenot, 68. Thevenot mentions good quality of indigo raised in Shālīmār gardens, two leagues from Delhi upon the way to Lahore. The Shālīmār garden was situated near the village Haidarpur. Bernier (283) described it as "the king's country-house..., a handsome and noble building but not to be compared to Fontaine Bleaue, Saint Germaine, or Versailles"; see also Manrique II, 180.

The price mentioned by Pelsaert for the Mewat indigo was 20 rupees a maund (66.38 lb) while the price for the Bayana indigo was Rs.30 a maund.[1]

Various kinds of millets and pulses were also cultivated throughout the province, in abundance.[2]

The cultivation of tobacco was unknown in Akbar's time and the crop does not therefore appear on the Āīn's schedules. It was introduced in the course of the 17th century; it is recorded among crops listed in assessment documents from sarkār Sambhal, copied into an administrative manual of Aurangzeb's reign.[3] Ānand Rām Mukhliṣ also observed that in Sambhal a large quantity of tobacco was grown. At first they collected the green leaves and then dried them in the sun or by fire. Then they mixed it with sugar (qand). He also refers to karākū, a kind of tobacco, which he himself smoked there.[4]

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1. Ibid.
2. Monserrate, 214; Bernier, 283. Bernier refers to the cultivation of three or four kinds of pulses in the neighbourhood of Delhi, in abundance. Bālkrishan Brahman, (63a), mentions the cultivation of moth, bājra and sesame seed (ganjad) in village Rajāralū, pargana Sirsa.
3. Dastūr-ul-ʿAmal-i-Navīsindgī, Br. Mus. Ms. Add. 6641, f. 182a-b.
4. Ānand Rām Mukhlis, Safarnāma-i-Mukhliṣ, ed. Dr. Saiyid Azhar Ali, Rampur, 1946, p.49.

Vegetable gardening seems to have been quite extensively practised during the 16th century. We find the revenue rates for almost all the vegetables in the dastūr-circles of Delhi.[1] During the 18th century the cultivation of egg-plant (brinjal) is noticed in the pargana of Ḥasanpūr.[2] Ginger was produced in large quantity at Thanesar.[3]

Among the pastoral products such good quality ghee (refined butter) was produced at Hissār that it was procured for the imperial kitchens.[4]

The arhsaṭṭā for pargana Bawal (sarkār Rewari) for the year 1663-64 provides interesting information on the pattern of cropping there.[5] The information on different crops is set out in Table IV; Table V converts the data into percentage. It will be seen that kharīf here was the more important harvest covering 86.77% of the gross sown area. In terms of area, moṭh, bājra and juwār were the major crops all the three being kharīf crops. These are followed by barley from amongst the rabī' crops. The area under wheat is very small. The small extent under rabī', of course, can be attributed to the low rainfall and lack of irrigation in the area.

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1. Āīn, I, 371-76.
2. Safarnāma, 37.
3. English Factories in India, 1637-41, vol. VI, ed. William Foster, Oxford, 1912, p.134.
4. Āīn, I, 34.
5. Arhsaṭṭā pargana Bawal, Samwat, 1721/1663-64 AD. The pargana Bawal consisted of 77 mauẓas out of which details of two mauẓas (Bisanpūr and Āsalwās) are not given since these were given in jāgīr/ijāra.

Table IV

Pattern of Cultivation in *Pargana* Bawal (absolute figures)

Crops	Total area cultivation	Area of crop failure	Actual Cultivated Area				Area under *jinsī* crops	Area under *zabtī* crops	Productivity (*bīgha-i-daftarī*/maund)			
			Total	Ist grade	2nd grade	3rd grade			Total	Ist grade	2nd grade	3rd grade
Total (*Kharīf*/ *Rabī*)	73021.55	25348.80	47672.75				47530.05	142.70	136252.78			
KHARĪF	63363.10	25348.80	38014.30	2483	5653.70	29877.60			50016.02	12956.50	14874.05	22185.48
Bājrā	21711.40	3893	17818.40	1348	3104	13366.40			30760.25	7513	9665	13582.25
Juwār	9080.10	6413	2667.10	489	530	1648.10			8537.10	3892.75	2226.50	2417.85
Moṭh	31732.51	14467.80	17264.80	630	1966.70	14668.10			10261.30	1442.75	2843.55	5975
Baratī	122	-	122	10	40	72			325	90	114	121
Gram	52	-	52	6	13	33			90.25	18	25	47.25
Til (Sesame)	665	545	90	-	-	-			42.12	-	-	-
RABĪ	9658.70	-	9658.70	3270.50	2462.50	3783	9516	142.70	86236.99	42327.14	23506.31	20403.29
Barley	7620	-	7620	2235	1895	3490			72703.15	33513	19888.52	19301.62
Wheat	1062	-	1062	481.50	383.50	197			9444.62	5757.52	2851.25	835.87
Gojarā (Wheat + Gram)	89	-	89	54	30	5			881	648	217.75	15.25
Gram	338.50	-	338.50	212	60	76.50			1195.50	791	213.75	190.75
Bejhar (Gram + barley)	248	-	248	164	66	18			1556.25	1220	281	55.25
Doḍī Pistā kī	4	-	4	3	1	-			18.50	15.75	2.75	-
Ajwāin	4	-	4	4	-	-			10.77	10.77	-	-
Opium	0.50	-	0.50	-	-	0.50			0.26	-	-	0.26
Rāī	0.25	-	0.25	-	-	0.25			0.05	-	-	0.05
Mustard	8.75	-	8.75	2.50	0.50	5.75			13.77	8.66	0.50	4.57
Karaṛī	130.50	-	130.50	104	26.50	-			361.24	310.70	50.54	-
Asālo	0.25	-	0.25	-	-	0.25			0.04	-	-	0.04
Peas (*matar*)	10	-	10	-	-	-			51.50	-	-	-
Carrots	142.70	-	142.70	-	-	-			463.50	-	-	-

Table V

Pattern of Cultivations in Pargana Bawal (Percent)

Crops	Total area cultivated	Area of crops failure	Actual cultivated Area				Area under jinsi crops	Area under naqdi/zabti crops	Productivity per bigha/maund			
			Total	Ist grade	2nd grade	3rd grade			Total	Ist grade	2nd grade	3rd grade
Total (Kharif/rabi)		34.71	65.28				99.70	0.30	2.87			
KHARIF	86.77	40	59.99	6.53	14.87	78.59	100	0	1.31	5.22	2.63	0.74
Bājra	29.73	17.93	82.07	7.56	17.42	75.01			1.42	5.57	3.11	1.02
Juwār	12.43	70.63	29.37	18.33	19.86	61.80			3.20	7.96	4.20	1.47
Moth	43.46	45.59	54.41	3.65	11.39	84.96			1.68	2.29	1.44	0.41
Barati	0.17	-	100	8.20	32.79	59.02			2.66	9.00	2.85	1.68
Gram	0.07	-	100	11.54	25.00	63.46			1.74	3.00	1.92	1.43
Til (Sesame)	0.91	86.47	13.53	-	-	-			0.47	-	-	-
RABĪ	13.23	-	100	34.01	25.88	39.75	98.52	1.48	9.06	12.94	9.54	5.39
Barley	10.43	-	"	29.33	24.87	45.80			9.54	14.99	10.49	5.53
Wheat	1.45	-	"	45.34	36.11	18.55			8.89	11.96	7.43	4.24
Gojarā (Wheat+gram)	0.12	-	"	60.67	33.71	5.62			9.90	12.00	7.26	3.05
Gram	0.46	-	"	62.63	17.72	22.59			3.53	3.73	3.56	2.49
Bejhar (gram+barley)	0.34	-	"	66.13	26.61	7.26			6.27	7.44	4.26	3.07
Dodī Pistā Kī	0.00	-	"	75.00	25.00	-			4.62	5.25	2.75	-
Ajwā'in	0.00	-	"						2.70			
Opium	0.00	-	"						0.52			
Dhania	0.00	-	"						0.55			
Rā'ī	0.00	-	"						0.20			
Mustard	0.01	-	"						1.58	3.46	1.00	0.73
Karaṛī	0.18	-	"	79.69	20.31	-			2.77	2.98	1.91	-
Asālo	0.01	-	"						0.12	-	-	0.12
Peas (matar)	0.01	-	"						5.15	-	-	-
Carrots	0.19											

The cropping-pattern of the pargana suggests that there was hardly any cultivation of cash-crops except wheat, which also covered a very small area. High-grade crops like cotton, sugarcane and pulses which were otherwise prominent crops of the sūba were not at all grown in the pargana.

A comparison of the gross-area sown in 1663-64 with the modern statistics (1900-1)[1] also suggests (see Table VI) that Bawal Nizamat till modern times (1900-1) had very little irrigation facilities and thus kharīf crops still dominated over rabī'. As much as 77.49% of the gross cropped area was under kharīf while only 22.51% of the area covered by rabī' crops. The cultivation of wheat (in relative size) declined by 0.34%. Barley, though still held prominent position among the rabī' crops, its share, too, declined. The cultivation of gram, however, showed a marked increase (by 12%). Among the kharīf crops, moṭh, which earlier held a prominent position, saw its share decline sharply (from 43.47 to 7.12%). The area under juwār too declined. Bājra, which was the staple crop of the pargana under Aurangzeb, retained its place in 1900-01 as well. But the most dramatic change was in respect of bājra, whose share of gross area increased from 29.73 to 60.28%.

Among fruits, the mango received special attention. The orchard of Muqarrab Khān at Kairana is enthusiastically described by Jahāngīr.[2] He had brought seeds of mangoes

1. Punjab State Gazetteers, Vol. XVII B, Phulkian States, Lahore, 1909, pp. xliv-xlv. The modern statistics are given in acres while figures given in the arhsattā are in bīgha-i-Daftarī, so for comparison, I have converted acres into bīgha-i-Daftarī (1 bīgha-i-Daftarī = 0.4 acre, cf. Agrarian System, 364, fn.7).
2. Tuzuk, 283. He writes that all types of trees were grown there. Among Persian trees there were pistachio and cypress trees.

Table VI

Comparison of Area Sown (Per cent)

(1663-63 - 1900-1)

Crops	1663-64 (*pargana* Bawal)	1900-1 (Nizamat Bawal)
*Rabī*ʿ	13.23	22.51
Wheat	1.45	1.11
Barley	10.43	6.80
Oil Seeds	0.92	2.49
Gram	0.53	12.10
Kharīf	86.77	77.49
Juwār	12.43	4.85
Bājra	29.73	60.28
Peas and moṭh	43.47	7.12

from the Deccan and Bengal.[1] The English Factors also mention large 'store' of mangoes at Thanesar.[2] Mukhliṣ observed that all through Sambhal there were a great number of mango trees.[3] The *Hālāt-i-Manāzil-az Shāhjahānābād ta kābul* refers totthe mango gardens at Sarāi Raja, Sirhind and Sarāi Kohna.[4] But, according to Bernier, the mangoes grown in the *ṣūba* were not so plentiful and excellent as those

1. *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, III, 557.
2. *EFI*, 1637-14, p.134.
3. *Safarnāma*, 45.
4. *Hālāt-i-Manāzil-az Shāhjahānābād ta kābul*, 4b-5a.

of Golconda, Bengala and Goa.[1]

Melons and water-melons were also grown[2]. Bernier found melons grown here to be rather inferior in quality.[3] For the cultivation of good quality of melons, seeds were imported from Persia and Iran by the nobles and wealthy people.[4] Bernier observed that in spite of the expense the seeds decayed owing to the unsuitability of the soil.[5]

Pine-apples, mulbery and grapes have also been noticed in the 17th and 18th century accounts among the fruits of the province.[6] Of these pine-apple was a new comer having been introduced by the Portuguese.

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1. Bernier, 249.

2. Āīn, I, 372-4, 376. Persian and Indian melons, both, are mentioned in all the dastūr-circles.

3. Bernier, 249-50. "In summer "Bernier remarks, "the melons of the country are cheap but they are of inferior quality". He refers to the water-melons of Delhi, "soft, without colour or sweetness".

4. Ibid, Muḥammad Ṣādiq, Tārīkh-i-Shāhjahānī, Br. Mus. Or. 174, f. 102b.

5. Bernier, 249. He writes that, "the soil being so little congenial that the seeds degenerates after the first year".

6. Thevenot, (68) mentions the cultivation of "exceedingly good quality of pine-apples" in Shālīmār-garden. For mulbery see Steel and Crewther Purchas, IV, 268. Wāriṣ (48) mentions ample quantity of grapes were grown in Ḥayāt Bakhsh garden at Shāhjahānābād. Mukhliṣ (Safarnāma, 37) writes of grape cultivation in pargana Ḥasanpūr, sarkār Sambhal.

The *Āʾīn* provides us yields (*raiʿ*) per *bigha* for each crop. These yields are presumably of Sher Shāh's reign.[1] The land was divided into three categories on the basis of productivity; good, middling and bad; and the productivity of each type of land is given separately. The revenue rate is sat at 1/3 of the average (of all the three) yields.[2]

These yields can be compared with modern yields given in the *Agricultural Statistics* from 1892 onwards.[3]

Modern statistics gives us separate yields for irrigated and dry lands. Certain crops are exclusively cultivated on irrigated land (sugarcane etc.) and some exclusively on dry lands (juwār, bājra etc.) and some again on both types of land. The crops on dry land seem to be comparable with the category designed 'inferior' in the *Āʾīn*. As for the crops on irrigated land, these can perhaps be compared with both good and middling categories of the *Āʾīn*. The modern yields of cotton, given in the table, are not comparable, for the modern yields are of cleaned cotton and the yields of *Āʾīn* denotes unginned-raw cotton. Similarly a comparison of yields of mustard does not seem possible, as the modern yields combined rape and mustard seed, while the figures given in the *Āʾīn* refers to mustard only.

1. *Āʾīn*, I, 297.
2. Ibid.
3. *Agricultural Statistics of British India* (1897-1901-2), 18th issue, Calcutta, 1904, pp. 362-65, 370-72, 402-3.

The comparison is made by converting the per-acre yields into per bīgha-i-Ilāhī and pound (lb) into man-i-Akbarī.[1] The average of the Āʾīn's categories good and middling is worked out and only the yields of modern crops on irrigated category are compared with these averages:

Table VII

Comparison of yields 1540-1892
Āʾīn = 100

Crops	Yields on irrigated land as average percent of Āʾīn's category I and II.		Yields on dry land as percent of Āʾīn's category III.	
Rabīʿ	U.P.	Punjab	U.P.	Punjab
Wheat	149	67	97	64
Gram	82	79	91	82
Barley	83	64	116	74
Kharīf				
Rice	70	64	82	48
Sugarcane (gur)	214	170		104
Juwār		48	96	59
Bājra		42	98	70

Modern statistics (1892) show (see Table VII) that the yields towards Haryana and the rest of the Punjab were very low as compared to the Upper-Gangetic-Doab region. We can see

1. 1 acre =.6 bīgha-i-Ilāhī, 1 lb. = 55.32 man-i-Akbarī. cf. Agrarian System, 3, 362, 368.

that Sher Shāh's *rai*'s tend to approximate more to the Doāb yields than to Haryana-Punjab. This suggests that Sher Shāh may have mainly considered the yields in the Doāb region.

The crop-wise comparison of the *Āīn's rai'* with modern (1892) Doāb yields show that the yields per-*bīgha* of wheat have substantially increased in wet lands, but slightly decreased on dry lands. On the other hand, the modern yields of gram are lower on both the dry and the wet lands though the decrease on wet lands has been much sharper. The barley yields are lower on dry land, while higher on wet land compared to the *Āīn*. The yields of rice, on both the wet and dry lands have decreased between 1540s and 1892 by about one-fifth. The yields of juwār and bājra declined slightly on dry lands compared with that of the *Āīn*. The yields of sugar-cane in terms of *gur* has increased more than two-fold on wet-lands. The wide-spread use of iron-crushers (and a higher extraction of juice) seems to be one of the reasons for this improvement.[1]

A document from which one can derive yields of 1663-64 for various crops in *pargana* Bawal suggests some interesting results once these are compared with the *rai'* of Sher Shāh. The *arhsattā* of *pargana* Bawal (*sarkār* Rewari) provides the

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1. J.A. Voelcker, *Report on the Improvement of Indian Agriculture*, London, 1893, pp. 276-7. He refers tot the wide use of iron-mills by 1893 in the North-Western Provinces.

total produce of different crops on three categories of lands. I have converted the yields into quantities per <u>bīgha-i-Ilāhī</u> by dividing the total yield by the total area cultivated.[1]

Table VIII

Comparison of Yields (1540 - 1663-64)

Ain = 100

Crops	Category I	Category II	Category III
<u>Kharīf</u>			
Bājra	106.19	83.06	38.66
Juwār	122.46	80.00	39.06
Baratī	277.23	108.57	89.60
Moṭh	70.46	55.05	21.60
<u>Rabī'</u>			
Wheat	132.83	123.92	95.71
Gram	57.38	67.81	66.53
Barley	363.51	322.92	239.39
Mustard	66.28	23.53	31.05

The table shows that the yields of all crops except barley was much lower than Sher Shāh's <u>rai'</u>. In category II

1. I have assumed that the figures of area in the <u>arhsaṭṭā</u> of <u>pargana</u> Bawal are in <u>bīgha-i-Daftarī</u> and its maunds are <u>man-i-Shāhjahānī</u>. For comparison with Sher Shāh's <u>rai'</u> as given in the <u>Ain</u>, I have converted <u>bīgha-i-Daftarī</u> into <u>bigha-i-</u>[redacted] and <u>man-i-Shāhjahānī</u> (of 40 <u>dāms</u>) into <u>man-i-Akbarī</u> (of 30 <u>dāms</u>).

barley is joined by wheat and (marginally) Baraṭī; the other crops are lower than Sher Shāh's standard but the distance between the two is much less than under category III. In the best (irrigated) land, the yields of all crops, except moṭh, gram and mustard are substantially higher than Sher Shāh's standard, though Bājra is only marginally higher. Obviously much lower yield on the worst dry land (category III) was being allowed by the Mughal administration in Bawal in 1663-4 than by Sher Shāh for his standard rates.

The Āʾīn gives us details of the revenue-rates of each crop for each dastūr-circle in each ṣūba.[1] The dastūrs being cash revenue-rates essentially represented the cash value of the portion of produce claimed in revenue. In other words, the variations reflect variations in yields or in prices or both.

For wheat the rates vary from dāms 64-21 (in Palwal and Taoru) to 49-5 (in Thanesar). The general tendency is that the rates are higher towards south-east, south-west and west and lower towards the north-east, north-west and south-east. The rates of barley vary from 22-9 (in Taoru) to 45-21 (in Hissār-Fīrūza). The increase is towards north-west, south-west and south-east (exception is Taoru where rates sharply decline to 22-9); towards east, north-east and north-west the rates are lower. As far gram

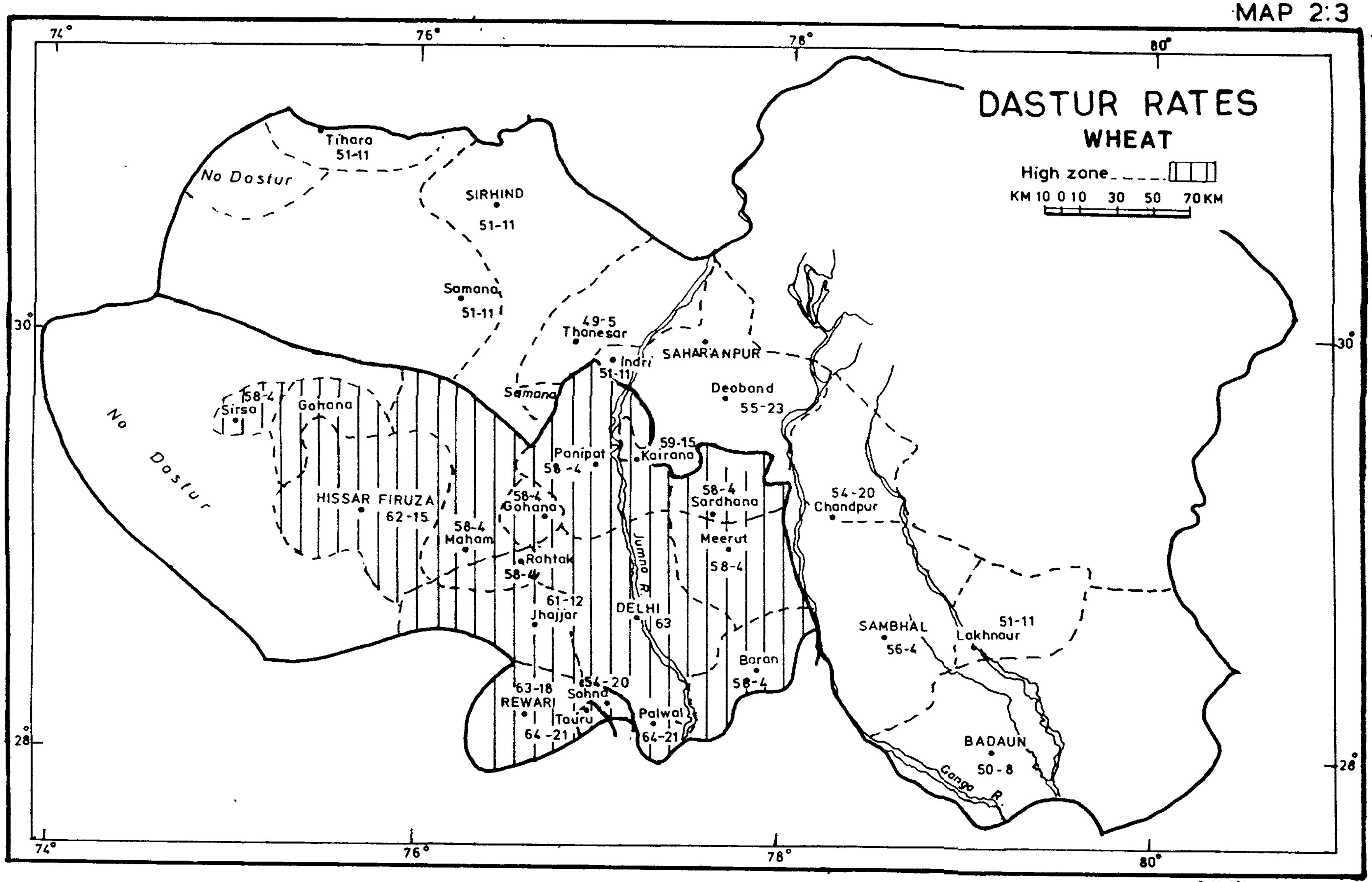
1. Āʾīn, I, 371-76.

the rates vary from 29-2 (in Hissār Fīrūza) to 40-6 (in Meerut). The rates tend to be higher than the mean of these two rates in almost all the dastūr-circles, except seven (Badāūn, Taeru, Thanesar, Hissār Fīrūza, Sirsa, Rohtak and Gohana). The rates of rice range from 38-0 (in Badāūn) to 69-8 in Rewari). The rates increase towards the south-east, south-west and west and decline towards east, north-east north and north-west (except Tihara). The revenue rates of juwār range from 26-21 (in Palwal and Deoband) to 38-0. The rates are higher towards the west, south-west, east and lower towards north, north-west and south-east. The rates of bājra are the lowest towards east-north, north-east, north-west and south-east and higher towards south, south-west and west (highest in Rohtak 29-2).

The general pattern for almost all the crops is thus rather similar. The rates are usually higher towards the south, south-west and west (only the rates for gram show an opposite trend) while lower towards the east, south-east and north (see accompanying Maps 2:3-8).

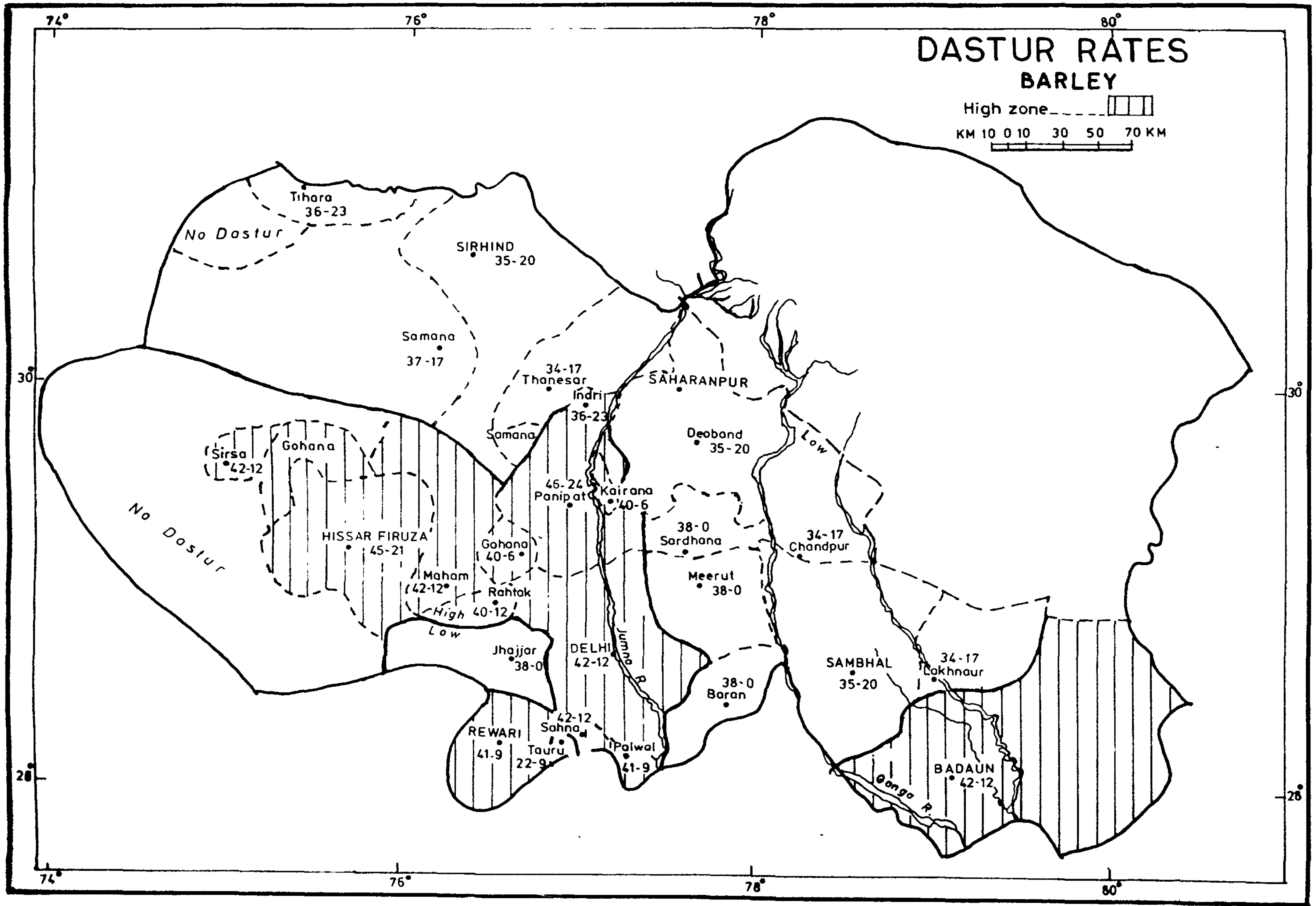
The modern yield pattern shows a somewhat different trend Modern statistics gives district-wise yields for different crops (average per acre lb.). These have been converted by us into per bīgha-i-Ilāhī and man-i-Akbarī (See Table IX).

MAP 2:3



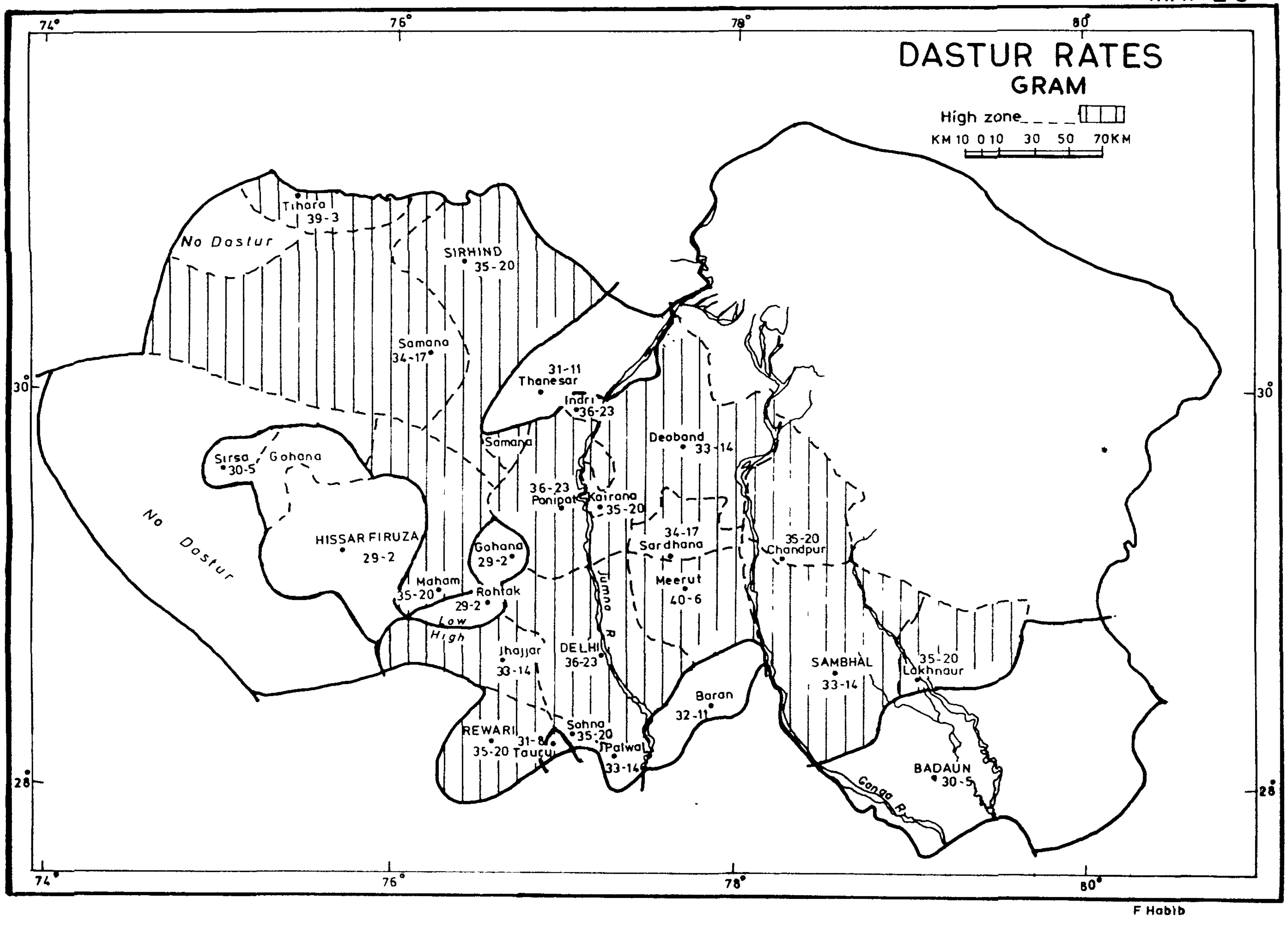
F. Habib

MAP 2:4



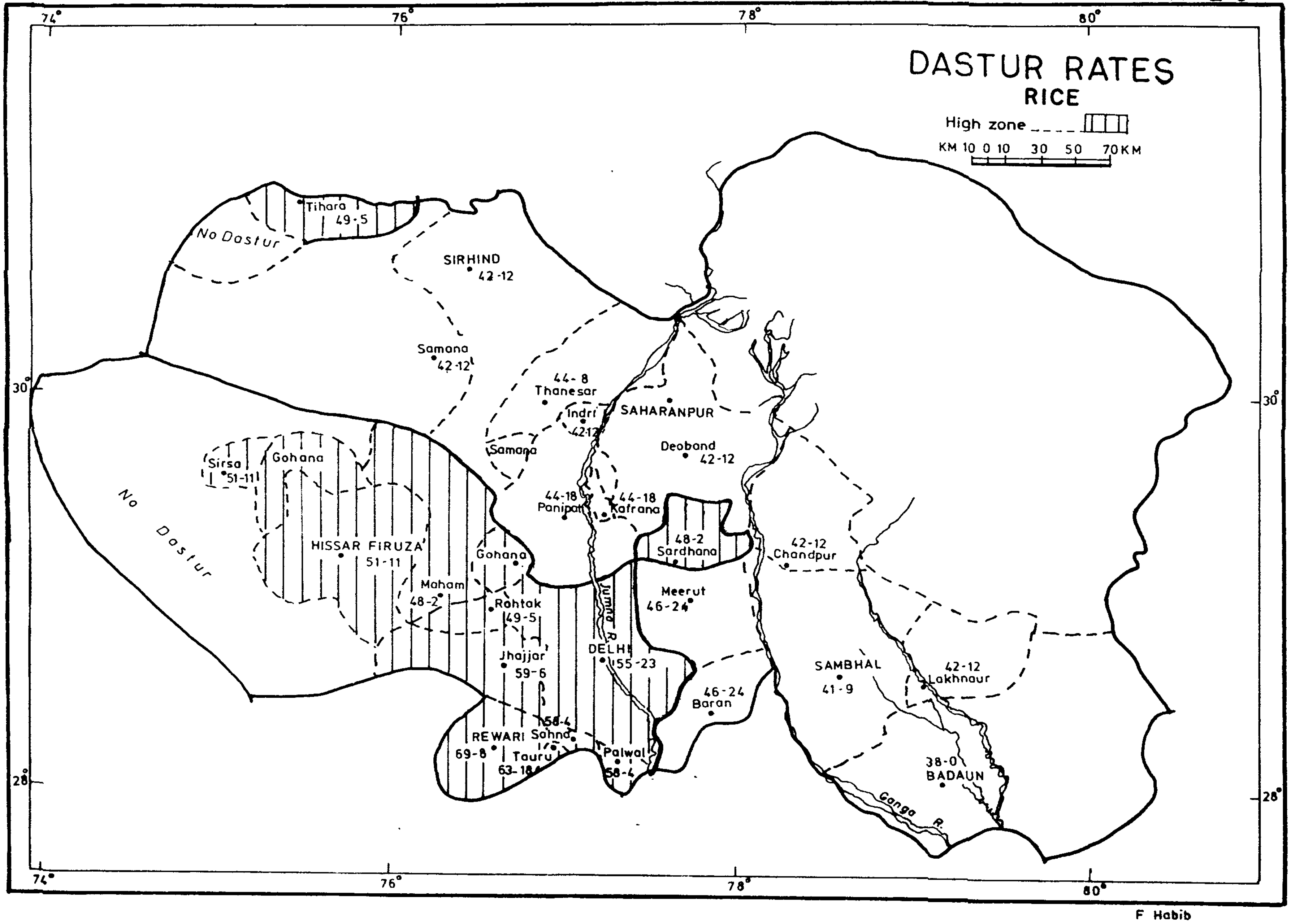
DASTUR RATES
BARLEY
High zone
KM 10 0 10 30 50 70 KM
74°
76°
78°
80°
30°
28°
No Dastur
Tihara 36-23
SIRHIND 35-20
Samana 37-17
34-17 Thanesar
Indri 36-23
Samana
SAHARANPUR
Deoband 35-20
Sirsa 42-12
Gohana
HISSAR FIRUZA 45-21
46-24 Panipat
Kairana 40-6
38-0 Sardhana
Meerut 38-0
Gohana 40-6
Maham 42-12
Rahtak 40-12
High
Low
Jhajjar 38-0
DELHI 42-12
Jumna R.
38-0 Baron
REWARI 41.9
42-12 Sahna
Tauru 22-9
Palwal 41-9
Low
34-17 Chandpur
SAMBHAL 35-20
34-17 Lakhnaur
BADAUN 42-12
Ganga R.
No Dastur
F Habib

MAP 2:5

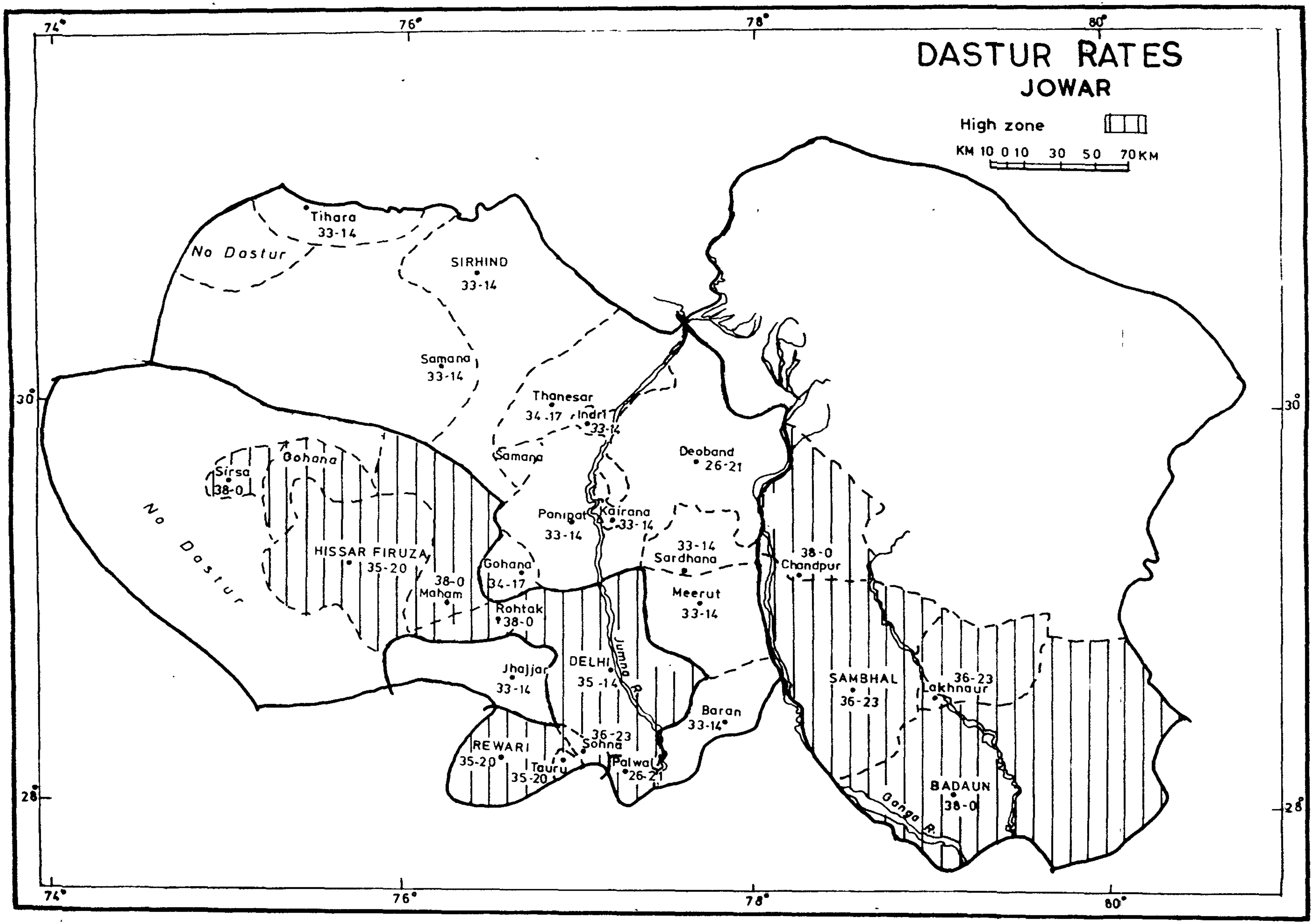


DASTUR RATES
GRAM
High zone
KM 10 0 10 30 50 70KM
74°
76°
78°
80°
30°
28°
No Dastur
Tihara 39-3
SIRHIND 35-20
Samana 34-17
31-11 Thanesar
Indri 36-23
Samana
Sirsa 30-5
Gohana
HISSAR FIRUZA 29-2
Gohana 29-2
Maham 35-20
Rohtak 29-2
Low
High
36-23 Panipat
Kairana 35-20
Deoband 33-14
34-17 Sardhana
Meerut 40-6
Jumna R
Jhajjar 33-14
DELHI 36-23
REWARI 35-20
31-8 Taucu
Sohna 35-20
Palwal 33-14
Baran 32-11
35-20 Chandpur
SAMBHAL 33-14
35-20 Lakhnaur
BADAUN 30-5
Ganga R
F Habib

MAP 2:6


DASTUR RATES
RICE
High zone
KM 10 0 10 30 50 70 KM
74°
76°
78°
80°
30°
28°
No Dastur
Tihara
49·5
SIRHIND
42·12
Samana
42·12
44·8
Thanesar
Indri
42·12
SAHARANPUR
Deoband
42·12
Samana
Sirsa
51·11
Gohana
No Dastur
44·18
Panipat
44·18
Kafrana
48·2
Sardhana
42·12
Chandpur
HISSAR FIRUZA
51·11
Gohana
Maham
48·2
Rohtak
49·5
Jumna R.
Meerut
46·24
DELHI
55·23
Jhajjar
59·6
SAMBHAL
41·9
42·12
Lakhnaur
46·24
Baran
58·4
REWARI
69·8
Sohna
Tauru
63·18
Palwal
58·4
38·0
BADAUN
Ganga R.
F Habib

MAP 2:7



F. Habib

MAP 2:8

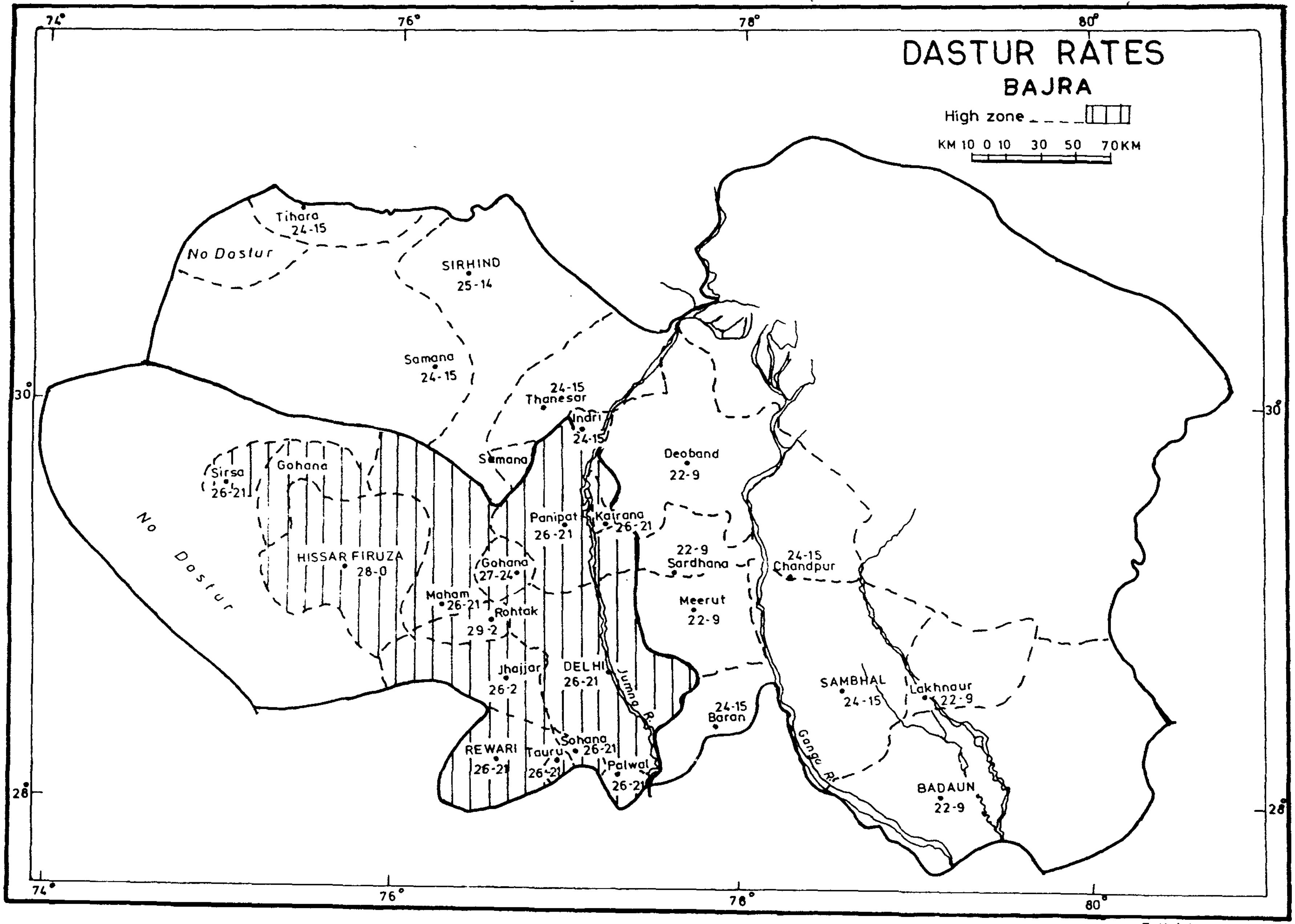

DASTUR RATES
BAJRA
High zone
KM 10 0 10 30 50 70KM
74°
76°
78°
80°
30°
28°
Tihara 24-15
No Dastur
SIRHIND 25-14
Samana 24-15
24-15 Thanesar
Indri 24-15
Samana
Sirsa 26-21
Gohana
HISSAR FIRUZA 28-0
No Dastur
Panipat 26-21
Kairana 26-21
Deoband 22-9
22-9 Sardhana
Meerut 22-9
Gohana 27-24
Maham 26-21
Rohtak 29-2
Jhajjar 26-2
DELHI 26-21
Jumna R.
24-15 Baran
24-15 Chandpur
SAMBHAL 24-15
Lakhnaur 22-9
REWARI 26-21
Tauru 26-21
Sohana 26-21
Palwal 26-21
Ganga R.
BADAUN 22-9
F Habib

Table IX

Modern Yields (1892), <u>man-i-Akbarī</u> and per <u>bīgha-i-Ilāhī</u>[1]

Districts	Wheat	Barley	Gram	Rice	Sugarcane	Juwār	Bājra
U.P.							
Badāūn	12.36	12.45	8.89	10.16	26.68	6.22	4.88
Bareilly	13.34	14.23	10.67	8.82	31.13	9.30	
Shahjahanpur	13.34	14.23			31.13	7.11	
Moradabad	13.34	14.23	10.67	11.43	26.68	7.11	5.34
Bijnor	13.34				26.68		4.88
Saharanpur	13.34	14.23	10.67	10.70	17.79		4.89
Muẓaffarnagar	13.34	14.23	10.67	12.03	26.68	6.67	4.89
Meerut	14.21	13.14	10.67	11.58	26.68	7.11	5.34
Bulandshahr	14.21	14.23	10.67	10.67	22.23	7.11	6.22
PUNJAB							
Delhi	12.12	10.41		9.98	15.62	5.21	3.90
Karnal	9.09	9.26	8.94	9.87	16.48	2.99	2.52
Rohtak	10.91	10.84	12.15	13.88	27.76	5.29	4.53
Gurgaon	10.15	13.01				6.77	4.77
Hissār Fīrūza	6.31	5.21		10.41		2.75	2.56
Ambala	10.55	8.70	6.59	7.46		3.64	3.84
Ludhiana	11.76	10.98		5.05		4.49	

1. The yields for wheat, barley, gram, rice and sugarcane are those on irrigated land while for Juwār and bājra the yields are given only for dry land.

An analysis of the modern yields as recorded for 1892[1] shows that the yields of almost all the crops are higher towards the east, south-east, north, north-east and lower towards north-west, west and south-west.

To sum up, whereas the dastūrs are higher towards Haryana and Punjab and lower towards Uttar Pradesh, the late 19th century yields seem to be higher towards Uttar Pradesh and lower towards Haryana and Punjab. This raises some doubt as to whether the revenue-rates of the Āʼīn vary basically owing to local variations in yields. It could be more likely that the variations are owing to differences in local levels of prices.

However, a comparison of the dastūrs with average prices of the various crops for 1860-65 (before the railways could have exercised any influence on relative levels of prices) indicates no significant correlation between the dastūrs of six crops in various circles and the average prices in the corresponding districts (see Table X).

5. Famines

The year preceding Akbar's accession saw a very acute famine, which continued for two successive years.[2] Badāʼūnī

1. A comparison of gram is not made, as in U.P. it mostly grew on wet lands and in Punjab mostly on dry lands.
2. AN, II, 35; Badāʼūnī, I, 428-29.

Table X

Dastūr-circles	Wheat		Gram		Barley		Rice		Juwār		Bājra	
	Revenue Rates	Prices	Revenue Rates	Prices	Revenue Rates	Prices	Revenue Rates	Prices	Revenue Rates	Prices	Revenue Rates	Prices
Delhi	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Pānīpat	92.32	105.91	100	90.53	108.85	104.44	79.97	92.84	100	116.50	100	97.79
Meerut	92.32	118.19	108.99	103.76	89.45	108.22	83.98	79.54	100	89.69	83.31	90.99
Baran	92.32	122.66	87.86	90.79	89.45	112.25	83.98	113.64	100	108.64	91.65	119.74
Jhajhar	97.59	105.44	90.90	114.98	89.45	107.59	105.94	102.96	100	110.45	100	113.42
Palwal	102.92	-	90.90	-	97.36	-	104.00	-	79.98	-	100	-
Rohtak	92.32	105.44	80.71	114.98	100	107.59	87.98	102.96	113.23	110.45	111.03	113.42
Badāūn	79.87	102.19	81.80	88.30	100	95.80	67.95	121.49	113.23	97.75	83.31	103.01
Hissār	99.36	98.84	80.71	118.27	107.91	108.16	91.99	76.10	106.67	120.14	104.32	127.54
Gohana	92.32	102.14	80.71	116.63	94.73	107.86	-	89.53	103.34	115.28	104.17	120.45
Sirsa	92.32	98.84	81.80	118.27	100	108.16	91.99	76.10	113.23	120.14	100	127.54
Maham	92.32	102.14	96.97	116.63	100	107.86	87.27	89.53	113.23	115.28	100	120.48
Rewari	101.14	-	96.97	-	97.36	-	123.96	-	106.67	-	100	-
Taoru	102.92	-	84.83	-	52.64	-	113.95	-	106.67	-	100	-
Suhna	55.05	-	96.97	-	100	-	104.00	-	110.01	-	100	-
Kohna	107.62	-	90.90	-	105.27	-	60.01	-	113.23	-	100	-
Deoband	88.76	111.21	90.90	109.47	84.27	85.70	75.96	105.37	79.98	79.02	83.31	102.02
Sardhana	92.32	111.31	93.93	106.32	89.45	106.12	87.27	87.26	100	80.77	83.31	81.62
Kairana	92.32	104.48	96.97	108.88	91.73	104.05	79.97	95.04	100	71.85	100	72.24
Indri	81.65	111.21	100	109.47	86.91	85.70	75.96	105.37	100	79.02	91.65	102.02
Sirhind	81.65	122.31	96.97	130.08	84.27	107.44	75.96	112.26	100	130.42	96.57	112.17
Thanesar	78.09	110.98	84.83	107.71	81.64	97.24	79.97	116.11	100	118.29	91.65	95.84
Tihara	81.65	128.57	105.96	135.34	86.91	124.89	87.98	85.05	100	140.77	91.65	130.44
Samana	81.65	-	90.90	-	79.00	-	75.96	-	100	-	91.65	-
Sambhal	88.76	120.38	90.90	100.62	84.27	117.50	73.96	180.02	110.01	107.97	91.65	126.14
Chāndpūr	86.98	118.15	96.97	97.97	81.64	106.30	75.96	111.64	113.23	112.38	91.65	109.30
Lakhnor	79.87	105.16	96.97	85.56	81.64	77.36	75.96	114.32	110.01	99.30	83.31	84.93

says that this was due to scarcity of rain.[1] Abūl Fazl writes of its fatal effects saying that the distress particularly caused in the "country of Delhi", though the scarcity affected all parts of "Hindūstān".[2]

There was no grain to eat, even for people who had money to purchase it.[3] Badāūnī writes of grain prices reaching such high levels in the region of "Agra, Bayana and Delhi" that one ser of juwār sold for 2½ tankas, and that too became unprocurable.[4] People took to eating babul-seeds, wild herbs and skins of slaughtered cattle. The hands and feet of the starving people got swollen whereafter they died.[5] Badāūnī claims to have been witness to cases of cannibalism and this is corroborated by Abūl Fazl.[6] Badāūnī says large number of "peasants and cultivators" died, and the refractory elements, probably famine sticken mobs, attacked "the cities of Muslims".[7]

The famine lasted for two years[8] but the intense distress was over after one year[9]. Badāūnī gives us a

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1. Badāūnī, I, 429.
2. AN, II, 35.
3. Ibid.
4. Badāūnī, I, 428.
5. Ibid, 428-29.
6. Ibid, 429; AN, II, 35.
7. Badāūnī, I, 429.
8. Ibid; AN, II, 35.
9. AN, II, 35.

chronogram for the year of the famine as "Khashm-i-Īzad" (Anger of God) yielding 962 AH/1554-55 A.D.[1] Abūl Fazl writes that the scarcity was over with the accession of Akbar[2], probably due to good crops.

Around 1572-73, there seems to have occurred a terrible famine around Sirhind. Faizī Sirhindī says that a group of people, in the vicinity of Sirhind near Sarāi Ghaghar, took to cannibalism during the famine.[3]

In 982 AH/1574-75 there was a danger of severe drought because of scanty rains, but the danger was averted by timely rains.[4]

In the 41st R.Y. (1596), because of the scarcity of rains, famine again spread throughout Hindūstān. Prices increased and Akbar ordered the opening of free kitchens in every city.[5] Nūr-ul Ḥaq says that a very acute famine occurred in 1004 AH/1595-96 AD. He writes that because of the failure of rains a fearful famine occurred which lasted for three to four years. The Emperor ordered alms to be distributed (auqāf farmūdand) in all cities. Shaikh Farīd

1. Badāūnī, I, 429.

2. AN, II, 35.

3. Faizī Sirhindī, Akbarnāma, MS. Br. Mus. Or-169, ff. 121b-122a.

4. AN, III, 106-7.

5. Ibid, 714.

Bukhārī was appointed to superintend the arrangements. Free kitchens (*langars*) were opened. The spread of epidemic intensified the distress of the people. People died in large numbers. Houses and cities lay abandoned; scarcity of grains compelled people to resort to cannibalism. Roads were blocked with the dead and no arrangements could be made for their removal.[1]

In 1615-16 plague spread in the northern parts of Hindustan. It spread from Punjab to Sirhind,Miyān-i-Doāb and Delhi. Jahāngīr writes that physicians and other learned men believed that its spread had been caused by the severe drought which prevailed during the previous two years (1613-14-1614-15).[2] But the details of that scarcity are not available.

In 1650 India again witnessed a failure of rains. In one of the letters in Bālkrishan Brahman's collection, it is stated that because of little rain peasants (around Hānsī) could not pay the revenue and some of them left their native places.[3] The English Factors at Surat also mention scarcity of rains in all parts in India in 1650. It resulted in hike in prices. They adds "corne is risen in many places already to double the price, and a dearth is extreamely and generally feared". Indigo crop was totally destroyed.[4]

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1. Shaikh Nūr-ul Ḥaq Dihalwī, *Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh*, Br. Mus. Add. 10580, Rieu ii/224b, f. 190a.
2. *Tuzuk*, 161-2.
3. Bālkrishan Brahman, 39a-b.
4. *EFI*, 1646-50, p.322.

The begining of Aurangzeb's reign witnessed a long period of scarcity which seems to have lasted for four or five years (1658-62). Bihishtī Shīrāzī, a court poet of Murād Bakhsh, writes of a widespread famine after the death of Murād in 1658. It affected the whole of Hindūstān from Bengal to Sindh and Attock to the Deccan. Plague ravaged the towns and trade was brought to a standstill by the robberies on the routes.[1]

The genesis of the famine lay in the war of succession. Failure of rains led to continuous scarcity which lasted for some years, affecting Agra, Delhi and Lahore. Peasants (ri'āyā mahnatzada) abandoned their villages and sought shelter in towns. The Emperor ordered the opening of ten free kitchens in the capital (Delhi), and of twelve in the parganas, in the neighbourhood of Delhi. It was also ordered that nobles having the mansab of more than 1000 should open free langars of their own, according to their status. Townsmen unable to purchase grain in the town rushed to villages in great numbers, and there "the strong oppressed the weak". To check disorder Fidāi Khān was appointed to supervise the sale of grain with the help of 50 yāsavals (special imperial officers). To reduce the concourse of the people in the capital (Delhi)

1. Durgā Prasād, Gulistān-i-Hind, Sandila, Hardoi, 1897, vol. II, p.105. It cites extracts from Bihishtī Shīrāzī's Āshob-i-Hindūstān.

the Emperor ordered the mansabdārs to send off half of their retainers to their respective jāgīrs.[1]

Khāfī Khān, highlighting the scarcity, writes that the Emperor ordered the remission of rāhdārī (road tax). Exemptions from revenue were also granted.[2]

In 1694-95, Delhi fell into the clutches of yet another famine. Because of the scarcity of rains prices of grains increased greatly. One rupee could only fetch ten or twelve sers of wheat and grain. All the inhabitants of the Bāgar tract had to abandon their villages and migrate to the cities. Hunger forced them to eat the flesh of dead animals like cows, donkeys, dogs and cats. People are said to have died in thousands.[3]

6. Prices :

Very scanty information is available regarding prices prevalent in Delhi sūba. Persian texts contain only passing remarks about the high prices prevalent during famine and scarcities.[4] European sources refer

1. ʿĀlamgīrnāma, 609-12.
2. Khāfī Khān, Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb, ed. Kabiruddin and Ghulam Qadir, ASB, Calcutta, 1869, vol. II, pp.87, 124-25.
3. Yaḥyā Khān, Tazkirāt-ul-Mulūk, India Office, Ethe-409, f.108a-b.
4. Badāunī, I, 428; A.N., III, 714; ʿĀlamgīrnāma, 609-12; Khāfī Khān, II, 87, 124; Yaḥyā Khān, 108a-b.

seldom to prices current in the Delhi region.[1] The *arhsattā* of Jai Singh pūrā,[2] Delhi and some *nirkh-bāzār* documents of Jihānābād give details of day-to-day prices prevalent in Delhi in particular years.[3]

The prices are originally given in quantity per rupee. The *nirkh-bāzār* documents use the maund of 28 *dāms* to the sers. I have converted all the prices into rupees per *man*-i Shāhjahānī of 40 *dāms* to the *sers*.

The *nirkh-bāzār* documents give three sets of prices for most of the commodities. Besides, we also have prices of three different dates within almost the same week in 1715. I have first determined an average of the sets and then the average of the three dates is calculated to get the average prices for the week. The prices are then indexed, with wheat as base, = 100 (See Table XI).

The table suggests that among food grains rice was costliest at that time and the prices of gram and juwār were comparatively low. However, the prices of

1. *EFI*, 1618-21, pp. 58, 61, 73, 161; 1624-29, p.93, 1634-41, p.134.

2. *Arhsattā* of Jai Singh pūrā, Delhi,1710-11 and 1711-12.

3. The *nirkh-bāzār* documents are of 6, 9 and 13 Āsāṛh sudī, Samvat, 1772/10, 13 and 17 July, 1715 A.D.

Table XI

Prices of Delhi Nirkh-Bāzār with Index (Wheat = 100)

Commodities	Average Prices (Rs. per maund)	Index
FOOD GRAINS:		
Wheat	2.13	100
Rice		
a. Sīnwā	3.14	147.42
b. Pahāṛī	2.67	125.35
c. Sālī	3.33	156.34
Gram	1.57	73.71
Juwār	1.70	79.81
Moṭh	2.59	121.60
Mūng	3.26	153.05
Urd	2.48	116.43
DĀL :		
Urd	2.69	126.29
Gram	2.10	98.59
Mūng	3.43	161.03
Ardālō	2.07	97.18
FLOURS:		
Wheat	2.52	118.31
Gōjarā (Wheat+gram)	2.32	108.92
Gram (besan)	2.44	114.55

Table XI Contd..

Commodities	Average Prices (Rs. per maund)	Index
Ma'idā (Fine wheat flour)	3.18	149.29
SPICES :		
Chilly (dry)	34.41	1615.49
Chilly (Būrō?)	23.67	1111.27
Turmeric	12.54	588.73
Ajwā'in	5.86	275.12
Sōnth	10.33	484.98
Almonds (mukatī)	25.16	1181.22
PROCESSED PRODUCTS:		
Ghee	16.26	763.38
Oil (mīṭhā)	8.00	375.59
Khānd Chīnī	13.20	619.72
Sugar (mustī)	5.33	250.23
Sugar (chhālī)	8.65	406.10
Jaggery (gur)	4.63	217.37
Sugar candy (misrī)	18.02	846.01
MEAT :		
Meat (kāhī)	4.85	227.70
Meat (goat)	4.85	227.70
UNIDENTIFIED :		
Halwān	37.73	1771.36
Ru'iwān	37.73	1771.36
Dogrā	1.21	56.81

pulses - moṭh, *mūng* and *urd* were relatively high. The rates of *urd*, gram and *mūng dāl* were obviously higher than the pulse. Wheat flour was 18 per cent higher than wheat and *ma'idā* 49%. The difference between gram and gram flour is also great (about 40%).

Spices appear to have been very expensive. Chilly was 17 and 11 times higher than wheat. Almonds were also 11 times the price of wheat. The *sōnth*, *ajwāin* and turmeric were, respectively, 5, 2 and 6 times higher than wheat.

Ghee was 7 times more expensive than wheat; oil was 4 times as expensive. The finest quality sugar (white) 6 times the price of wheat. But the price of *gur* was comparatively low, only twice that of wheat. Sugar candy (*misrī*) was also 8 times higher than wheat.

A comparison of *nirkh-bāzār* prices with that of the *Āīn* (1595) shows (see Table XII) that, barring gram, moṭh, *mūng* and *mūng dāl*, prices of all other commodities in 1595 in terms of wheat were higher than those prevalent in 1715. Ghee was 8 times the price of wheat in 1595 while in 1715 it was 7 times; oil was 6 times the price of wheat in 1595 while in 1715 it was just 3 times. Similarly, gram *dāl* and gram flour

Table XII

Comparison of Prices (Wheat = 100)

Commodities	Āʾīn (1595)	1715
Wheat	100	100
Gram	66.67	73.71
Moṭh	100.00	121.60
Juwārī	83.33	79.81
Mūng	150.00	153.05
Mūng dāl	150.00	161.03
Gram dāl	137.50	98.59
Wheat flour	125.00	118.31
Maʿidā	183.33	149.29
Gram flour	183.33	114.55
Ghee	875.00	763.38
Oil	666.67	375.59
Misrī	1666.67	846.01
Refined Sugar	1066.67	250.23 (mustī)
		406.10 (chhālī)
		619.72 (Khānd chīnī)

were considerably expensive in 1595. However, the prices of mūng and mūng dāl do not show much variations. Candied sugar (misrī), jaggery and refined sugar were comparatively more expensive in 1595 than in 1715 in terms of wheat.

The nirkh-bāzār documents of July, 1715 show wheat to be Rs.2.13 per maund but Surman, referring to Delhi, mentions in the same year (Oct., 1715) that the prices of wheat vary from Rs.3.33 to 6.66 per maund which are 56 to 212% higher than that of the nirkh-bāzār prices.[1] Interestingly, referring to the high prices prevailed in Delhi during the famine of 1694-95 Yaḥyā Khān says that one rupee could fetch 10 or 12 seers of wheat and grain (yielding a price of Rs.3.33 to 4 per maund).[2] The wheat prices of 1694-95, which according to Yaḥyā were exhorbitant, fell within the range of what Surman has given for Oct. 1715. This suggests that the prices of wheat, since then, had risen considerably.

Similarly, wheat flour was Rs.2.52 per maund in July, 1715. In 1710-11[3] it had been as high as Rs.5.67 per maund which was 225% higher than the prices of July, 1715. However, the following year (14 Sept. 1711-24 Feb. 1712)[4] prices seem to have gone down considerably. The wheat flour was Rs.2.66 per maund

1. C.R. Wilson, The Early Annals of The English in Bengal, Calcutta, 1911, vol. II, pt. II, p.74.
2. Yaḥyā Khān, 108a-b.
3. Arhsattā Jai Singh pūrā, Delhi, 1710-11.
4. Ibid, 1711-12.

which was only 5.55% higher than the prices of July, 1715. In 1712 (15 Feb.- 3 Aug.) the prices went down further.[1] Wheat flour was Rs.2.28 per maund, less than what it was to be in July, 1715.

There appear sharp variations (from month to month) in the prices of wheat flour. In 1710-11, the prices of wheat flour in Delhi varied from Rs.4 to 8 per maund in different months.[2] Similarly, in 1712 it varied from Rs.2.22 to 2.35 per maund.[3] In the same year the prices of dānā (animal's fodder) show great variations over different months. It varied from Rs.3.64 to 6.66 per maund from Rajab to Jumādī-ul-Ṣānī, 1710-11. Chūnā could be bought at Rs.0.10 per maund in 1710-11.[4]

The Mirʾāt-ul-Ḥaqāʾiq gives prices of certain commodities for 1718 (7 R.Y. of Farrukhsiyār).[5] If we compare these with that of the nirkh-bāzār (July, 1715) we find a sharp rise in the prices. The rice, which was, in July, 1715, Rs.2.67 to 3.33 per maund; in 1718

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1. Ibid, 1712.
2. Ibid, 1710-11.
3. Ibid, 1712.
4. Ibid, 1710-11.
5. Muḥammad Iʿtibār ʿAlī Khān, Mirʾāt-ul-Ḥaqāʾiq, MS. Bodl. Fraser, 124, f.139a.

it reached Rs.10 per maund. Ghee, which was Rs.16.26 per maund in July, 1715 it was Rs.40 per maund in 1718; urd and gram which were Rs.2.48 and 1.57 per maund (respectively) in 1715, could be bought at Rs.8 per maund in 1718. Such a sharp rise in the price curve is difficult to explain. There was obviously a scarcity in 1718.

A comparison of July, 1715 prices with those of 1861-70 and 1885[1] prices show (see below Table XIII)

Table XIII

Commodity	1715 (nirkh bāzār)	1861-70	1885
Wheat	100	100	100
Gram	73.71	86.47	83.54
Juwār	79.81	71.49	83.54
Moṭh	121.60	-	77.43
Mūng	153.05	-	79.88

that in terms of wheat there was an increase in the prices of gram, while moth and mūng prices declined greatly; juwār was a little more expensive in 1885

1. Agricultural Statistics, 1861-70, pp.12-36; 1884-85, p.61.

but it lewer in 1861-70.

In 1615 powdered sugar was Rs.3.33 to 3.66 per maund (*man-i-Shāhjahānī*) between Agra and Lahore[1], while in 1639 sugar was Rs.5¼ and sugar candy was Rs.12 per maund at Sirhind.[2] The above mentioned prices of sugar do not seem to be much at variance with the *nirkh-bāzār* prices where sugar *mustī* and *chhālī* are mentioned as costing Rs.5.33 and 8.65 per maund. However, the prices of sugar candy seems to have risen greatly (from Rs.12 to 18.02 per maund).

In 1639 ginger could be bought at Rs.7.80 per maund at Thānesar.[3]

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1. Steel and Crowtner, *Purchas*, IV, 268.
2. *EFI*, 1637-41, p.134.
3. Ibid.

Chapter 3

MINES, MINERALS AND MANUFACTURES

The main region where minerals were located in the Delhi _sūba_ were Kumāūn and the area containing the spurs of the Aravallis.

Abūl Faẓl says that gold was found in 'abundance' in the Northern mountains.[1] Both he and Jahāngīr mention the gold mines in Kumāūn.[2] Gold was also collected from the sands of Ganga river.[3] The tributaries of Ramganga along the north of Moradabad district, specially between Koh and Dhelā; Alaknandā, Benī-Gangā and Sona rivers contain 'auriferous' sands.[4] But the extraction of gold from the river sands was a very expensive process and the margin of profit was apparently very meagre.[5]

Silver mines were reported from Kumāūn _sarkār_.[6] A small amount of silver was extracted from the Sirmūr-hills as well.[7]

1. _Āīn_, I, 32.
2. Ibid, 514; _Tuzuk_, 107.
3. _Āīn_, I, 32.
4. George Watt, _A Dictionary of the Economic Products of India_, Calcutta, 1889-96, vol. III, pp.529-30.
5. _Āīn_, I, 32.
6. Ibid, 514.
7. Watt, VI, pt. III, 241.

Fitch, Salbancke and Manrique say that diamonds were found in Delhi.[1] But there is no other evidence for this; and it seems most unlikely. Tavernier who was far better informed does not refer to any diamond mines in the Delhi province.

Copper was mined in Kumāūn.[2] But the major copper-mining region lay amidst the spurs of the Aravallis. During the reign of Shāhjahān the sarkār of Nārnaul (of sūba Agra) was transferred to the sūba Delhi. In sarkār Nārnaul copper-mines were located in Singhana, Udaipur, Kotputli (in the village of Bhandarah) Babai and Raipur.[3] Abū'l Fazl says that a stream near Raipur carried copper sands.[4]

Iron was mined in Kumāūn[5]. Father Monserrate says that iron was found in the "neighbouring spurs of the Himalayas".[6] Iron workings survived in later times,

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1. Ralph Fitch (1583-91), Cf. William Foster, Early Travels in India, London, 1927, p.47; J. Salbancke, 'Voyage', 1609, Purchas, III, 83; Manrique, II, 295.

2. Āin, I, 514.

3. Ibid, 442, 454.

4. Ibid, 454.

5. Ibid, 514.

6. Monserrate, 98.

according to British reports, in Ramgarh (in Kumāūn) at Pahli, Loshgrani, Natna Khān and Parwara and in the beds of Siwālik-hills.[1]

The best quality of orpiment (zarnīkh) was obtained from Kumāūn, though the amount was reported to be very small in quantity.[2]

The Āīn records borax mines in sarkār Kumāūn.[3] But this is not corroborated by any later account. Modern accounts, too, do not support Abū'l Fazl's statement. Borax seems really to have come from Tibet, where it is still extracted in fairly large quantities.[4]

Kumāūn also produced lead.[5] Modern accounts refer to lead deposits and mines in Sirmūr and Simla districts.[6]

Sal Ammoniac (nausādar) was extracted at Thanesar.[7] Pelsaert writes, "it is a sort of scum

1. Watt, IV, 511.
2. Āīn, I, 514. Cf. Watt, V,496-7.
3. Āīn, I, 514.
4. Watt, I, 507-8.
5. Āīn, I, 514.
6. Watt, IV, 603.
7. Finch, Purchas, IV, 49; E.F.I., 1637-41, p.134; Pelsaert, 46; Manrique, II, 182.

which forms on the site of very old brick kilns; it is dug and purified by evaporation, like salt-petre".[1]

Sulphur was also found in the ṣūba. Abūl Faẓl and Badāūnī mention a sulphur-spring in Sohna.[2] The latter also refers to the existence of sulphur mines in the pargana.[3] The Sohna sulphur spring still exist.[4]

The neighbourhood of Delhi was rich in lime and stone.[5] Thevenot mentions greyish stone quarried at Delhi. He compared it with 'Theban stone or garnet'. He says it was generally used for building construction.[6]

The most prominent non-agricultural products of ṣūba Delhi seems to have been cotton goods. Good quality chintz, fine muslin, silk and brocade were manufactured at various places in the province. Delhi itself was an important centre. The English Factors report "the commodity that invites them [the Armenian

1. Pelsaert, 46.
2. Āin, I, 514; Badāūnī, III, 110.
3. Badāūnī, III, 110.
4. Punjab State Gazetteers, (Gurgaon District) vol. IVA, p.145.
5. Monserrate, 97.
6. Thevenot, 66.

and Persian merchants] thither being only chintz, which are heere made in good quantities, well cullored, in appearance little inferior to those of Mesulapatam; different sorts and goodness and soe diversely prized".[1] Manrique also mentions chintz among the important merchandise of Delhi.[2]

Chintz was also produced at Sirhind and the English Factors found the place much frequented by the merchants who came to buy these.[3] Manrique praises Sirhind cloth for its good quality and cheapness.[4] In 1612 Steel and Crowther found large quantities of cloth ('linen') woven there.[5]

Besides chintz, white cloth, or calico, was woven at various places. Panipat, Samana and Saharanpur were the main centres in the province.[6] White cloth produced at these places was good enough to be purchased

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1. E.F.I., 1637-41, p.134.
2. Manrique, II, 180.
3. E.F.I., 1637-41, p.134.
4. Manrique, II, 183.
5. Steel and Crowther, Purchas, IV, 267.
6. Ibid; Āin, I, 524; EFI, 1624-29, p.149; 1637-41, p.134; 1642-45, p.204. Steel and Crowther mention "great store of linnen cloth" at Panipat.

for experts. The English Factors found the white cloth of Panipat and Samana to be of same quality, length and width.[1] However, production at Samana seems to have been limited. When the English Factors advanced money to the weavers they found it difficult to procure cloth "at any reasonable rate".[2]

Abū'l Fazl mentions that Saharanpur was famous for the manufacture of muslin khāṣa and chautār that was manufactured there in large quantities.[3]

According to the Haft Iqlīm Thanesar, though a small city, was mostly inhabited by weavers of different kinds.[4]

Bafta (a kind of high quality calico, normally white or of single colour), both broad and narrow, was manufactured at Machhiwara. It was of very good quality.[5]

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1. E.F.I., 1637-41, p.134. It was "11 covetts greate in length and 3/4 in breadth".
2. Ibid, 1624-29, p.149; 1642-45, p.204.
3. Āīn, I, 524. Chautār was 'a plain white calico of usually superior quality'. (Cf. Journal of Indian Textile History, Calico Museum of Textiles Ahmedabad, No.VI, 1961, p.29). Prof. Irfab Habib says that it was "probably a kind of muslin" (Atlas, 69); Khāṣa was "a fine quality muslin"; it priced highest among the cotton stuffs in the Āīn (Cf. Ibid, 70).
4. Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, Haft Iqlīm, ed. M. Ishaque, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1963, vol. II, p.461.
5. E.F.I., 1642-45, p.204.

Silk manufacture does not seem to have been of much importance. Only the Āin records the production of silk in the Kumāūn region.[1] But there is no mention of either the raw-silk or silk-weaving during the first half of the 17th century. Only Bernier lists silk cloth among the manufactures of Delhi.[2]

Panipat was a good centre for the production of knives as well.[3] Besides, different kinds of girdles and shashes were also made here.[4]

Sonepat, though a small town, was famous for its scimitars, poniards, steel-points for spears, pikes and javelins. Monserrate says that all these were very skilfully made. The iron is said to have come from the Himalayas.[5] The place was also one of the important centre for manufacturing swords and daggers.[6]

Kumāūn had some reputation for swords and daggers. Rāja Lakhmī Chand of Kumāūn presented swords (khānda) and daggers (katār) made at Kumāūn to the Emperor Jahāngīr.[7]

1. Āin, I, 514.
2. Bernier, 259.
3. Haft Iqlīm, II, 463.
4. Steel and Crowther, Purchas, IV, 267.
5. Monserrate, 98.
6. Ibid.
7. Tuzuk, 106-7.

Excellent muskets and fowling-pieces and other kinds of weapons were made in Delhi.[1]

Sirhind was noted for the manufacture of bows, quivers, shoes, greaves and sandals.[2]

Excellent shields were made at Sambhal out of the skin of rhinoceros, hunted in that territory. The horn was used for finger-guards (<u>zehgīr</u>) for bow-strings and other weapons.[3]

Paper of some repute was manufactured at Moradabad.[4]

Bernier gives a long list of manufactures at Delhi including (besides-textiles) ornamented jewellery, lacquer-work etc.[5] These manufactures are not mentioned by any previous authority. Their growth seems to have been a natural development of the foundation of Shāhjahānābād. Bernier is full of praise for the skill of the Delhi artisans but laments at the paucity and inadequacy of their tools as well as the lack of training.[6]

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1. Bernier, 254.
2. Monserrate, 102.
3. <u>Āʾīn</u>, I, 514.
4. Munshī Ṭek Chand Bahār, <u>Bahār-i-ʿAjam</u>, Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, 1916, pt. II, p.286.
5. Bernier, 254, 259.
6. Ibid, 254.

The lack of progress in technology is marked by the kind of screw that the Delhi artisans made. Thevenot tells us that Indians did not know how to make screws as the European. They simply "fasten to east of the two pieces that are to enter into one another, some iron, copper or silver wire turned screw-wise without any other art than of shouldering the wire to the pieces, and in opening them, they turn the screws from the left hand to the right contrari-wise to ours, which are turned from the right to the left".[1]

Never-the-less the craftsmen with their manual skill alone could also produce wonders. Bernier says of the ornaments made by them that, "it may be doubted if the exquisite workmanship of those articles can be exceeded by any European goldsmith".[2] However, says Bernier, there was no encouragement for the craftsmen. They were "contemned, treated with harshness and inadequately remunerated for their labour".[3] The rich exploited them and bought their commodities at cheap rates. Under such circumstances only those artists could raise to eminence who had the patronage of the Emperor or of the 'Omrahs'.[4]

1. Thevenot, 66.
2. Bernier, 254.
3. Ibid, 255.
4. Ibid, 256.

Chapter 4
LAND REVENUE

1. Land Revenue Rates:

The *Āʾīn* sets out the annual *dastūrs* for different crops given *ṣūba*-wise from the 6th to 24th R.Y. These are designated "Nineteen years' Rates" (*nūazdah-sālah*).[1] Tables I & II extract from these statistics the maximum and the minimum rates given there for each year for eight crops (4 of the *rabīʿ* and 4 of *kharīf*) within the *ṣūba* of Delhi.

It can be seen that from the 6th to 9th R.Y. the rates remain unvaried.[2] In the 10th R.Y. the rates sharply declined. From 14th R.Y., again, the maximum and the minimum rates of all the crops fell sharply. In the 24th R.Y. there is an increase in the minimum and maximum rates of all the crops. A decline in the rates may indicate a general fall in the prices; but it can also have been the result, at least partly, of closer scrutiny of the administration into the actuals of harvests and prices.

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1. *Āʾīn*, I, 303, 324-331.

2. Only the rates of gram in the 8th R.Y. and of barley, cotton and bājra in the 9th R.Y. differ from the earlier rates.

In our table, along with the 'Nineteen years' Rates' we have also reproduced the final dastūrs given in the Āīn for 1595-96. These have been adjusted for the increase in the size of the bīgha as per schedule reconstructed by Shireen Moosvi.[1]

The average of the minimum rates of all the crops for the years 15 to 24 are lower than the minimum in the final dastūrs. Only the minimum rate on rice exceeds slightly the final dastūrs and the rate of barley is identical. The average of the maximum rates of three crops, mustard, rice and bājra are lower than the maximum in the final dastūrs and one (wheat) identical; while the rates of gram, barley, cotton and sugarcane in the 19 years' Rate are higher than the maximum rates in the final dastūrs.

The fact that the final maximum rates are lower in some cases than the average maximum rates for the years 15-24, on the one hand, and the average of minimum rates of years 15-24 exceeds the minimum in the final dastūrs in, at least, one case, on the

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1. Shireen Moosvi, 'Formulation of Land Revenue Rates Under Akbar', Indian Historical Review, vol. IV, No.2, Jan. 1978, p.306-9.

Table I

Minimum Ninteen-Years' Rates (in dāms)

Crops	6-7 R.Y.	8 R.Y.	9 R.Y.	10 R.Y.	11 R.Y.	12 R.Y.	13 R.Y.	14 R.Y.	15 R.Y.	16 R.Y.	17 R.Y.	18 R.Y.	19 R.Y.	20 R.Y.	21 R.Y.	22 R.Y.	23 R.Y.	24 R.Y.	Average of ten years (15-24 R.Y.)	Ten years rates (Final Dastūrs) after adjustment vide S.Moosvi's schedule
RABĪ'																				
Wheat	90	84	90	44	48	50	56	52	36	36	36	40	24	31½	45	36½	20	60	36.5	44
Gram (Indian)	80	70	80	44	42	42	44	30	21	21	21	19	15	15	21	24	18	32	21	26
Barley	70	66	60	32	32	40	0	36	16	15	22	12	12	12	23	1	25	40	20	20
Mustard	80	80	80	50	60	60	60	8	22	18	20	18	15	15	14½	19½	18½	28	19	24
KHARĪF																				
Sugarcane (common)	180	180	180	1 0	140	140	140	134	112	100	90	96	90	90	90	94	60	84	91	97
Rice (common)	70	70	70	52	52	52	56	44	32	31	32	28	18	32	29	36	34	40	31	30
Cotton	120	120	130	110	110	110	110	90	90	70	72	62	70	76	88	56	44	45	67	90
Bājra	48	43	50	40	36	35	36	28	20	20	20	18	16	19	17	19	18	19	19.5	20

Table II

Maximum Ninteen-Years' Rates (in dāms)

Crops	6-7 R.Y.	8 R.Y.	9 R.Y.	10 R.Y.	11 R.Y.	12 R.Y.	13 R.Y.	14 R.Y.	15 R.Y.	16 R.Y.	17 R.Y.	18 R.Y.	19 R.Y.	20 R.Y.	21 R.Y.	22 R.Y.	23 R.Y.	24 R.Y.	Average of ten years (15-24 R.Y.)	Ten years rates (Final Dastūrs) after adjustment vide S.Moosvi's schedule
RABĪ'																				
Wheat	90	90	90	60	56	56	56	56	44	48	44	48½	40	50	83	82	56	102	60	60
Gram (Indian)	80	86	80	56	56	44	50	44	30	30	40	30	50	24	30½	38	37	78	39	36
Barley	70	70	60	50	50	40	40	36	37	39	4	37	30	30	34½	58	42	75	43	41
Mustard	80	80	80	70	60	70	70	60	30	30	28	26	27	27	24½	30	24	48	29.5	32
KHARĪF																				
Sugarcane (common)	180	180	180	160	160	160	160	150	164	134	134	134	134	106	123½	134	100	116	128	124
Rice (Common)	70	70	70	60	60	60	56	48	40	45	49	50	50	57	58	64	66	63	54	62
Cotton	120	120	130	110	110	110	110	90	90	95	90	90	90	112	150	120	68	70	97.5	95
Bājra	48	48	50	44	44	44	44	30	20	20	20	20	21	27	22	28	31	44	25	26

other, shows that the final dastūrs of any circle could not have been simple averages of the rates for the years 15-24 as was suggested by Moreland.[1] But they quite obviously belong to the same range.[2]

It is worth considering what share of the produce Akbar's dastūr-ul-'amals represented. It is stated by Abū'l Faẓl that Akbar had accepted Sher Shāh's rai' which marked the lowest rate of assessment under Akbar.[3] Sher Shāh's rai' set out the yields of three classes of land, the arithmetical average thereof, and a third of the average as tax.

We may assume that Akbar's final dastūrs were built up, similarly, from average yield divided by three multiplied by prices. The prices given in the Ā'īn are those prevailing on a long-term basis in the Imperial camp (prevalent at Agra or Lahore) only[4], but we may suppose these to constitute the ceiling beyond which harvest prices used to compute dastūrs could not rise.

1. W.H. Moreland, Agrarian System of Moslem India, 2nd ed., 1968, Delhi, p.88.

2. See Table I and II.

3. Ā'īn, I, 297.

4. Ibid, 60-65.

If we commute Sher Shāh's rai' into cash by multiplying it with the Ā'īn's prices the figure should be higher than the final dastūrs set out by Akbar, if the dastūrs too represented a third of the produce.

In Table III, column A, we have the cash value of Sher Shāh's rai' which is calculated by multiplying Sher Shāh's rai' with the prices given in the Ā'īn; column B represents the final dastūrs for the old sub-urban district of Delhi.

Table III

Crops	A Rai (in cash)	B Final Dastūrs (Delhi)
Rabī'		
Wheat	52	63
Barley	18.5	42.5
Gram	28	37
Linseed	17	32
Mustard	32	29
Adas	26	26
Arzan	16	22
Peas	21	22
Fenugreek	39	-
Kharīf		
Moṭh	21	23.5
Urd (māsh)	41	36
Mūng	47	-
Juwār	34.5	34
Bājra	21	26
Shāmakh	16	11
Arzan	36	20

A comparison of the two figures clearly shows that the final dastūrs for rabīʿ (except one) and kharīf (except 3) crops are higher than Sher Shāh's raiʿ. This shows that Akbar's administration was not using Sher Shāh's raiʿ as standard rate, and so taking a higher proportion of crop than Sher Shāh. This was perhaps the implication of Abūl Faẓl's statement that Sher Shāh's raiʿ represents the lowest rate of assessment under Akbar.

This is also borne out by another method of comparison. In Table IV we have the prices worked out from the dastūrs, by dividing them by Sher Shāh's raiʿ (average yield). Column A and B represent the prices derived from minimum and maximum averages for 15-24 R.Y.; Column C shows those derived from the final dastūrs for Delhi; while the last column represents the prices stated in the Āʾīn.

The table shows that the Āʾīn's prices remain still lower (except mustard and adas for rabīʿ and juwār, shāmākh and arzan in kharīf) than the prices calculated from the dastūrs. However, the prices representing the minimum dastūrs (for 15-24 R.Y.) are lower than those of the Āʾīn. This again confirms

Table IV

Prices worked out from <u>Dastūrs</u>

Crops	A	B	C	D
	Nineteen-years Rates (Av. 15-24 R.Y.)		Final Dastūrs (Delhi)	Prices in the Āʾīn
	Minimum	Maximum		
Rabīʿ				
Wheat	8.33	13.89	14.58	12
Barley	8.66	18.61	18.39	8
Gram	6.09	11.30	10.70	8
Linseed	11.05	17.44	18.49	10
Mustard	7.43	10.78	10.81	12
Adas	6.51	11.86	11.91	12
Arzan	4.83	7.43	8.31	6
Peas	4.76	8.68	6.18	6
Fenungreek	13.95	17.31	-	10
Kharif				
Moṭh	8.72	13.37	13.65	12
Māsh	8.69	13.51	13.82	16
Mūng	10.04	15.44	-	18
Juwār	6.38	9.85	9.73	10
Bājra	7.14	9.65	10.36	8
Shāmakh	3.34	4.46	4.16	6
Arzan	3.14	4.71	4.51	8

that Akbar's administration was claiming a share much higher than that demanded under Sher Shāh.

The question arises whether Akbar did not accept Sher Shāh's average yield or the proportion of one-third in fixing the revenue demand. Since we have per bīgha yields for various crops for Sher Shāh's reign (given in the Āīn) we can work out the maximum value of the produce per bīgha in dāms by multiplying Sher Shāh's rai' by the prices given in the Āīn.

In Table V column A sets out per bīgha value of the produce in dāms so obtained for various crops; column B represents dastūr-ul-'amals of Delhi cricle and column C represents proportion of produce represented by dastūr-ul-'amals.

It is interesting that the dasturs for rabi range from 30 to 61 per cent of the yield as worked out below with an average of 43.82 per cent. For kharīf crops, the share vary from 18.81 to

Table V

Crops	A Value	B Final Dastūrs (Delhi)	C B as % of A
Rabī'			
Wheat	155.47	63	40.52
Barley	103.68	42.48	40.97
Gram	82.72	36.92	44.63
Linseed	51.70	31.80	61.51
Mustard	96.36	29.08	30.18
Adas	77.52	25.60	33.02
Arzan	41.46	22.36	53.93
Peas	64.26	22.08	45.77
Fenungreek	116.20	-	-
Average			43.82
Kharif			
Moṭh	61.92	23.48	37.92
Māsh (urd)	124	35.80	28.87
Mūng	139.50	-	-
Juwār	103.40	33.56	32.46
Bājra	62	26.84	43.29
Shāmakh	48.24	11.20	23.22
Arzan	106.96	20.12	18.81
Average			30.76

43.29 per cent giving a mean of 30.76 per cent. Since the prices are for the Imperial Camp and that too for Agra or Lahore, the actual proportion, in fact, should have been much higher. Thus, the dastūrs indicate that Akbar's administration claimed nearly one-half of the produce (at least for rabī'). However, for kharīf state's share was possibly lower and coming to about one-third.

2. Jama' Statistics :

The jama'dāmī represented the estimated income including that from taxes other than land-revenue.[1] From Akbar's reign onwards we get jama' figures of each ṣūba and sarkār.

The analysis of changes in the jama' of the Delhi ṣūba is complicated by changes in the limits of the ṣūba and its sarkārs. The number of sarkārs was raised from 8 to 12 with the inclusion of two full sarkārs Nārnaul and Tijāra from ṣūba Agra and the formation of two new sarkārs Faiẓābād and Srinagar.[2]

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1. W.H. Moreland, From Akbar to Aurangzeb, Delhi, 1972, p.326.

2. For further details see Chapter 1.

For comparing the *jama'* figures from later sources, the *jama'* of *sarkār* Nārnaul and Tijāra (of *Āīn*'s period) is included in the total *jama'* of the *sūba* in Akbar's time. This enlargement of the *sūba* took place sometime late in Shāhjahān's reign. But for comparing with the later *jama'* figures with those of the earlier periods, where only 8 *sarkārs* are mentioned (and separate *sarkār* figures are not available), the *jama'* of *sarkārs* Nārnaul and Tijāra has been excluded from the *Āīn*'s total. Thus we give two *jama'* figures from the *Āīn* : (a) for the *sūba* as it was in 1595; and (b) for the territories that were to be in the *sūba* at the end of Shāhjahān's reign.

There is also the problem of dating the statistics since later works often tend to reproduce much earlier statistics. Thus, though, the *Siyāqnāma* and Manucci belong to Aurangzeb's reign, both have given the number of *sarkārs* as eight (with a total of 232 and 220 *mahals* respectively).[1] Sujān Rā'i also mentions eight *sarkārs*, but he includes

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1. Munshī Nand Rām, *Siyāqnāma*, Nawal Kishore, 1879, p.102; Manucci, II, 387.

sarkār Nārnaul (a later inclusion) and excludes Kumāūn (which was included in the Delhi sūba in the Āīn).[1] Bernier gives the number of sarkārs as 16, but we have no evidence that the number of sarkārs exceeded 12 at any time. Besides, the number of maḥals mentioned by Bernier is just 230, less than that given by the Āīn (232).[2] The Dastūr-ul-ʿAmal-i-ʿĀlamgīrī (Add. 6599), though it gives the new break-ups of the sarkārs, omits Srinagar and Kumāūn. The number of maḥals given is 289 which is larger than the total maḥals mentioned in the Dastūr-ul-ʿAmal-i-ʿĀlamgīrī (Add. 6598) against the 12 sarkārs (281 maḥals).[3] The revenue figures of the Ẓawābit-i-ʿĀlamgīrī, Fraser 86, Dastūr-ul-ʿAmal-i-ʿĀlamgīrī (Add. 6598), Kāghazāt-i-Mutafarriqa, Jagjīwan Dās, Dastūr-ul-ʿAmal-i-Shāhanshāhī, Mirʾāt-ul-Ḥaqāʾiq, Maḥāṣil-i-Hindūstān and Sarābistān seem to have been copied from the same source going back to post 1687.

There was a steady increase in the jamaʿ of the sūba from the time of the Āīn onwards. The increase

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1. Sujān Rāī, 39.

2. Bernier, 456.

3. Dastūr-ul-ʿAmal-i-ʿĀlamgīrī, Add. 6599, f. 113a-b; Add. 6598, f. 131b.

during Jahāngīr's reign was, however, rather small (mere 8.04%); but by 1633-38, during Shāhjahān's reign, the *jama'* had risen to 122.89 (with *Āīn*'s *jama'* = 100). By 1656, the *jama'* figures were more than double that of the *sūba* in the *Āīn*, inclusive of Nārnaul and Tijāra (232.88%). This figure does not include the revenue of Srinagar and Kumāūn *sarkārs*.

By 1667 there seems to have occurred a sharp decline of about 56 per cent in the *jama'*.[1] This was not due to any contraction in the *sūba* limits, for the *Mir'āt-ul-'Ālam* gives the number of *maḥals* as 285, while the number of *maḥals* mentioned in the *Dastūr-ul-'Amal-i-'Ālamgīrī* (Add. 6599) is 285. The decline may possibly reflect the agrarian distress felt in the 1660s (see Chapter 2).

The *jama'* figures after 1687 show some signs of revival; over a period of 20 years (from 1667 to 1687) the *jama'* increased by 8%. However, the *jama'* figures in the *Chahār-Gulshan* again show a decline.

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1. See Table VI.

Table VI

Jamaʿdāmī of the ṣūba (Āʾīn = 100)

Year	Ṣūba Delhi/ Shāhjahānābād	Āʾīn = 100 (jamaʿ in percent)	Number of sarkārs/ parganas	Source/page
1595-6	60,16,15,555	100	8/232	Āʾīn, p.517.
1595-6 (including Nārnaul and Tijāra sarkārs)	65,93,62,718	100		
Pre 1627	65,00,00,060	108.04	-	Majalis-us-salāṭīn, f.114b.
1628-36	62,62,33,753	104.09	-	Bayāẓ-i-Khushbūʾī, f.180b.
1633-38	73,93,10,000	122.89	8/223	Farhang-i-Kārdānī, f. 19a.
Pre 1647-48			8/220	Manucci, II, 387.
Pre 1647-48	77,20,00,000	128.32	8/232	Siyāq-nāma, p.102.
1638-56	1,00,00,00,000	-	-	Thevenot, p.68.
1646-47	1,00,00,00,000	-	-	Lāhorī, II, p.710.
1646-47	1,00,00,00,000	-	-	Ṣādiq Khān, f. 77a.
Pre 1656	1,55,80,39,127	232.88	10/289	Dastūr-ul-ʿAmal-i-ʿĀlamgīrī Add.6599, f. 113a.
1667	1,16,82,98,269	174.54	?/285	Mirʾāt-ul-ʿĀlam, f. 215a.
Post 1687	1,22,29,50,177	182.70	12/281	Dastūr-ul-ʿAmal-i-ʿĀlamgīrī, Add.6598, f.131b.
"	1,22,29,50,177	182.70	12/281	Ẓawābiṭ-i-ʿĀlamgīrī, f.5a.
"	1,22,29,50,137	182.70	12/281	Fraser 86, f.58a.
1659	1,22,29,50,137	182.70	12/281	Dastūr-ul-ʿAmal-i-Shāhjahānī, Add.6588, f. 17a-19b.
"	1,22,29,50,137	182.70	12/281	Kāghazāt-i-mutafarriqa, f.89b-85b.
"	1,22,29,50,658	182.70	12/281	Jagjīwan Dās, Muntakhab-ul-Tawārīkh, MS. Br. Mus. Add. 26253, f.52a.
"	1,22,29,50,137	182.70	12/281	Dastūr-ul-ʿAmal-i-Shāhanshāhī, f.6b-8a.
"	1,22,29,50,137	182.70	12/281	Mirʾāt-ul-Haqāʾiq, f. 117a.
"	1,22,29,50,137	182.70	12/281	Maḥāṣil-i-Hindūstān, f.3a-4a.
"	1,22,29,50,137	182.70	12/281	Sarābistān, f.375b-376a.
Post 1719	1,05,86,35,698	158.15	12/248	Chahār Gulshan, f. 48a-b.

But this decline can be explained by a territorial alteration. The number of *maḥals* given in the *Dastūr-ul-ʿAmal-i-ʿĀlamgīrī* (Add. 6598) is 281, while the *Chahār-Gulshan* gives the number as 248 *maḥals*.[1]

Since some of our sources give the *jamaʿ* for *sarkārs* (and the *Āʾīn* and the *Kāghaẕāt-i-Mutafarriqa* for *parganas* as well), it is possible to compare the variations in the *jamaʿ* of individual *sarkārs* over time. The *jamaʿ* of *sarkār* Badāūn shows the maximum increase (over 4 times the *Āʾīn* figure) by the time of the *Dastūr-ul-ʿAmal-i-ʿĀlamgīrī* (Add. 6599) and *Kāghaẕāt-i-Mutafarriqa*. The other *sarkārs* showing increase are Sambhal, Delhi and Nārnaul in that order.[2] The massive rise in the *jamaʿ* of *sarkār* Badāūn seems mainly due to forest-cleaning and increase in the extent of cultivation in the area.[3] This process was also reflected in the large increase in the number of *maḥals* of this *sarkār*.[4]

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1. See Table VI.
2. See Table VII.
3. See Chapter 2, Sec. 1.
4. See Chapter 1.

Table VII

<u>Jamaʻdāmī</u> (Āʼīn=100)

Sarkārs		Add. 6599		Dastūr-ul ʻAmal-i-Shāhjahānī	Kāghazāt-i-Mutafarriqa	Dastūr-ul ʻAmal-i-Shāhanshāhī	Mahāṣil-i-Hindūstān	Sarābistān	Chahār Gulshan
Sarkār	Delhi	258.80		229.42	298.48	228.60	229.42	228.60	200.40
"	Badāūn	407.44		315.98	408.15	320.53	320.53	341.17	335.72
"	Hissār	210.25		130.85	130.85	130.85	130.85	115.63	168.16
"	Sirhind	188.42	Jāgīr	142.11	138.38	142.11	142.11	138.38	150.66
			Khālisa	67.49					
"	Sambhal	320.54		215.09	320.66	215.09	215.09	215.09	217.61
"	Sahāranpūr	173.37		118.31	118.31	114.89	114.89	114.89	124.21
"	Rewari	16.93		166.25	166.25	166.25	166.25	166.25	150.05
"	Kumāūn	-		55.06	55.06	55.06	55.06	55.06	36.97
"	Srinagar	-		(=100)[1]	100	100	100	100	123.46
"	Faizābād	(=100)[1]	Jāgīr	78.11	78.11	78.11	78.11	77.94	77.94
			Khālisa	21.11					
"	Nārnaul	257.42		149.30	149.31	1:9.30	149.30	149.30	153.52
"	Tijāra	47.94		183.45	273.86	183.45	183.45	183.45	1?2.44

1. For Srinagar and Faizābād sarkārs, which were formed in late Shāhjahān's reign I have taken Dastūr-ul-ʻAmal-i-ʻĀlamgīrī (for Faizābād) and Dastūr-ul-ʻAmal-i-Shāhjahānī (for Srinagar) as 100.

At the time of the Āīn the largest jamaʿ was assigned to sarkār Sirhind, followed by sarkār Delhi, Saharanpur and Sambhal.[1] However, by 1656 the largest jamaʿ was assigned to sarkār Delhi, a position which it maintained thereafter. The share of sarkār Sirhind fell to the second place. It was followed by sarkārs Sambhal, Badāūn (which jumped from the seventh to the fourth place) and Saharanpur.

The figures for 1656 show a sharp decline in the jamaʿ of sarkārs Rewari and Tijāra, though the number of maḥals remained practically constant (12 and 11 for Rewari and 18 for Tijāra).[2]

The information for ḥāṣil (actual tax-realization) of the ṣūba is very limited and difficult to interpret. The Āīn does not provide us with any ḥāṣil-statistics. Figures that are designated ḥāṣil in some later sources are simply jamaʿ figures expressed in rupees[3], e.g. the ḥāṣil-figures in the Farhang-i-Kārdānī and Lāhorī[4]. We have the ḥāṣil-o-kāmil (collection of the best year)[5] for post-1687 years given by MS Fraser-86, Dastūr-ul-ʿAmal-i-Ālamgirī, Dastūr-ul-ʿAmal-i-Shāhjahānī, Kāghazāt-i-

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1. See Table VIII.
2. Ibid.
3. Cf. Agrarian System, 407.
4. Jagat Rāi Shujāī Kāyath Saksena, Farhang-i-Kārdānī, Abdus Salam Collection, 315/85, Aligarh, f.19a; Lahori, II, 63.
5. Op.cit., Agrarian System, 408.

Table VIII

Share of sarkārs in the jama' of the sūba (in per cent)

Sarkār		Āʾīn	Add. 6599	Dastūr-ul ʿAmal-i-Shāhjahānī	Kāghazāt-i-Mutafariqa	Dastūr-ul-ʿAmal-i-Shāhanshāhī	Maḥāṣil-i-Hindūstān	Sarāʾistān	Chahār Gulshan
Sarkār	Delhi	20.45	20.42	23.08	29.62	22.99	23.08	22.99	23.29
"	Badāūn	5.79	9.10	8.99	11.62	9.12	9.12	9.71	11.04
"	Ḥisār	8.73	7.09	5.62	5.62	5.62	5.62	4.0[illegible]	8.35
"	Sirhind	26.73	19.43 Jāgīr Khāliṣa	18.68 8.87	18.19	18.68	18.6[illegible]	18.19	22.88
'	Sambhal	11.13	13.76	11.77	17.55	11.77	11.77	11.77	13.76
'	Sahāranpūr	14.60	9.77	8.50	8.50	9.25	8.25	8.25	10.31
"	Rewari	4.55	0.30	3.72	3.72	3.72	3.72	3.72	3.88
"	Kumāūn	7.55	-	1.38	1.38	1.39	1.38	1.38	1.59
"	Srinagar		-	0.66	0.66	0.66	0.66	0.66	0.94
"	Faizābād		3.07	3.06	3.06	3.06	3.06	3.05	3.52
"	Nārnaul		8.26	6.11	6.11	6.11	6.11	6.11	7.26
"	Tijāra		0.54	2.65	3.96	2.65	2.65	2.65	3.05

Mutafarriqa and Mahāsil-i Hindūstān but all these quote the same unvarying figures, which seems highly improbable . Only the hāsil figures provided by Jagjīwan Dās seem to denote the actuals. The hāsil, here, is around 31 and 22 per cent of the jama'.[1]

Table IX

Jama' and Hāsil of the Sūba (in Rupees)

Source	Jama' of the Sūba converted into Rupees	Hāsil Sūba
Farhang-i-kārdānī	1,84,82,750	1,84,82,750
Lāhorī	2,50,00,000	2,50,00,000
Dastūr-ul-'Amal-i-'Alamgiri Add.6598	3,05,73,754.4	3,10,12,154
Zawābit-i-'Ālamgiri	3,05,73,754.4	3,10,12,154
Fraser 86	3,05,73,753.4	3,10,12,154
Dastūr-ul-'Amal-i Shāhjahānī	3,05,73,753.4	3,10,12,154
Kāghazāt-i-Mutafarriqa	3,05,73,753.4	3,10,12,154
Jagjīwan Dās	3,05,73,763.8	94,04,030 (Hāsil-o-kāmil), 68,49,110 (Hāsil-o-Ākhir)
Mir'āt-ul-Haqā'iq	3,05,73,753.4	3,10,12,054

1. See Table IX.

Similar remarks would apply to the *sarkār*-wise break-ups of the *hāsil*.[1]

The *Dastūr-ul-ʿAmal-i ʿĀlamgīrī* (Add. 6599) and the *Dastūr-ul-ʿAmal* of c. 1760 provide figures for *jamaʿ* of *sāʾir* as well.[2] In all, 26 *mahals* of the *sūba* returned separate *sāʾir* taxes. However, the *jamaʿ* figures of 4 such *mahals* are not entered. The *jamaʿ* of *sāʾir* specified in both the sources is exactly the same. It shows that either one had copied it from the other or from a common source, or the *jamaʿ* of *sāʾir* remained constant. The *Dastūr-ul-ʿAmal* of c.1760 provides further details concerning the *hāsil* (realization) of *sāʾir* for the *sūba* and *jamaʿ/hāsil* of *sāʾir* for Shāhjahānābād city. It also gives the figures for *hāsil-i-aūsat* of *sāʾir*.

The share for *jamaʿ* of *sāʾir* of these *mahals* in the total *jamaʿ* of the *sūba* constituted only 2.47 and 1.91 per cent in 1656 and 1760 respectively. In the total *jamaʿ* of *sāʾir* for the *sūba* the largest share was that of Shāhjahānābād city, which was the most important trading centre of the *sūba* and the capital

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1. See Table X.

2. *Dastūr-ul-ʿAmal-i-ʿĀlamgīrī*, Add. 6599, f.113b; *Dastūr-ul-ʿAmal*, University Collection, Aligarh, Farsia Akhbar 73, f.3b.

Table X

Jama'/hāṣil of sarkārs (in dāms)

Sarkār		Dastūr-ul-'Amal-i-Shāhjahānī		Kaghazāt-i-Mutafarriqa		Mahāṣil-i-Hindūstān	
		Jama'	Hāṣil	Jama'	Hāṣil	Jama'	Hāṣil
Sarkār	Delhi	28,22,12,511	35,14,17,840	36,22,49,721	35,14,17,640	28,22,22,000	-
"	Badāūn	11,00,16,148	13,69,02,640	14,21,05,477	13,69,02,640	11,16,[illegible],348	13,69,02,640
"	Hissār	6,87,67,542	7,38,97,600	6,87,67,542	7,38,97,600	6,87,67,342	7,38,99,200
"	Sirhind Jāgīr	22,84,97,232	25,52,29,320	22,24,97,232	25,52,15,200	22,84,97,232	25,52,28,520
	Khāliṣa	10,85,27,087	14,00,00,000				
"	Sambhal	14,39,85,682	36,79,65,680	21,46,53,156	36,79,65,680	14,39,45,692	36,79,65,680
"	Sahāranpūr	10,39,21,098	9,30,29,760	10,3[illegible],21,398	8,90,29,760	10,09,2[illegible],097	9,30,29,760
"	Rewari	4,55,14,317	4,72,44,880	4,55,14,537	4,79,65,640	4,55,14,317	4,44,44,880
"	Kumāūn	1,69,20,000	35,88,760	1,69,20,000	35,88,760	1,69,00,020	35,88,360
"	Srinagar	81,00,000	2,[illegible]0,000	81,00,000	-	81,00,000	2,40,000
"	Faiẓābād Jāgīr	3,73,80,145	3,19,35,320	3,73,80,145	3,19,35,320	3,73,80,145	3,1[illegible],35,320
	Khāliṣa	1,01,00,000	1,20,00,000				
"	Nārnaul	7,47,22,035	7,32,87,360	7,47,23,035	7,32,87,360	7,47,22,0[illegible]5	7,32,87,360
	Tijāra	3,24,72,152	18,94,88,840	4,84,75,382	18,92,88,840	3,24,72,152	2,94,88,840

of the Mughal Empire after 1648. The city contributed 82.70 per cent of the total *jama'* of *sā'ir* of the *ṣūba*. The remaining 17 per cent was shared by 21 other towns. Similarly, the *ḥāṣil* of *sā'ir* for Shāhjahānābād city was 86.62 per cent of the *ḥāṣil* of *sā'ir* for the total *ṣūba*.

The peculiar aspect of the *ḥāṣil* of *sā'ir* is that it was more than double to that of the *jama'* of *sā'ir* for the *ṣūba*. The *jama'* of *sā'ir* for the total *ṣūba* was 3,84,90,280 *dāms* while the *ḥāṣil* of *sā'ir* was equal to 7,35,74,600 *dāms*. The same trend is visible in the *ḥāṣil* of *sā'ir* for Shāhjahānābād. The *jama'* of *sā'ir* for the city was 3,18,30,000 *dāms* while *ḥāṣil* of *sā'ir* equalled 6,38,74,560 *dāms*. Even the *ḥāṣil-i-aūsaṭ* (average realization) of *sā'ir* was more than that of the *jama'* of *sā'ir* of the *ṣūba* (4,51,48,680 *dāms* and 3,84,90,280 *dāms* respectively).

3. Urban Taxation :

On urban taxation in the Delhi *ṣūba* our Persian sources provide very little information. However, we are fortunate to have some Rajasthānī source material. Jai Singh Sawāi, founder of Jai Singh pūrā (a suburb

to the west of Shāhjahānābād), held the suburb or <u>purā</u> in his <u>jāgir</u>.[1] The <u>arhsattās</u> of Jai Singh purā Shāhjahānābād shed some light on the nature of taxes realized under the heads <u>chabūtarā</u> <u>kotwālī</u>, <u>bāgā'it</u> and <u>imāratī</u>.

These <u>arhsattās</u> belong to five different periods. One covers the period 1 Rajab-Jumādī-ul-Sānī 1768-69 <u>samvat</u>/16 Aug. 1710 to 17 July 1711 A.D. The second gives the accounts of less than one month (6-30 Rajab, 4 R.Y. of Bahādur Shāh/20 Aug.-13 Sept. 1711 A.D.). The third sets out accounts of 4-5 R.Y. of Bahādur Shāh. It gives the income and expenditure of 6 months (1 Shabān 4 R.Y. to 16 Muharram 5 R.Y./ 14 Sept. 1711-24 Feb. 1712). The fourth, a six month account of 1123 A.H. (17 Muharram-30 Jumādī-ul-Sānī/ 25 Feb. 1712-13 Aug. 1712 A.D.). The last belongs to 1125 A.H. giving the accounts of a whole year (1 Rajab 1125 A.H. to 30 Jumādī-ul-Sānī/24 July 1713-13 June 1714 A.D.).

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1. J.N. Sarkar, <u>A History of Jaipur</u>, Delhi, 1984, p.205.

2. <u>Arhsattās</u> are ledgers of receipts and disbursements, providing revenue information (month-wise). Satish Chandra and S.P. Gupta, 'The Jaipur Pargana Records', <u>IESHR</u>, III, No.3, pp.303-5.

Twentynine taxes were levied under chabūtarā kotwālī. These are listed in the appendix to this Chapter where an attempt is made to define the nature of each of the exactions.

Under the head paūrāv among the chabūtarā kotwālī taxes we have three types of taxes : jaūleb khan : levied for arrangements of royal processions; nībarī, for the maintenance of the army encamped at the township; and bāgāt/chaūgān, whose significance is not clear.

The realization of tahbāzārī is mentioned separately from tamākū and chungī in the arhsattās, but in 1713-14 the tax was realized under one head along with paūkārī (levied on the animal market). In the same year chungī from grain and grain-loaders (pallā-palledār) was realized separately. Chungī from vegetables was also realized. In 1713-14 under the head chhaūdamī etc. chhaūdamī ('six dāms') and sabzī (tax on vegetables) were realized.

The taxes listed in the arhsattā bāgāīt were those on gardens of flowers, mangoes, chaūgān, ātishkhāna, the tahwīldār's cess and dastagarhā. Income from the sale of bull and firewood from (the jāgīrdar's own) orchard is also included.

Under the head imāratī (building) only the tahwīldār's cess and dastagarhā are given.

Table XI

Taxation from Imāratī (in per cent)

Taxes	Average (of the years 1710-11 & 1711-12) (in per cent)	1710-11 (in per cent)
	Havelī Jihānābād Jai Singh Purā	Jihānābād Jai Singh Pura
Ujūh Sānwal Dās Tahwildār (Tahwildār's cess)	97.02	100
Ujūh Dastagarhā	2.98	-

These taxes were realized in rupees as well as ṭakās and dāms. I have converted the ṭakās and dāms into rupees.[1] The share of each tax in the total revenue of the chabūtarā kotwālī has been converted into a percentage of the total. In 1713-14, under the head taḥbāzārī, the tamākū, paūkārī and chungī taxes are included; I have separated each item in the final table. The same is done in the case of chhaūdamī etc., where chhaūdamī and sabazī (vegetables) are combined in the original documents. I have put sabzī under the head chungī.

An analysis of the Table XII suggests that the chānd-salāmī was the most important tax fetching 15.45 per cent of the total revenue of the purā. It is not known on whom and how it was levied. However, it seems to have been levied regularly, on a monthly basis. Large variations in the monthly realization shows that

1. 1 ṭakā = 50 dāms. The rupee: ṭakā rates mentioned in the documents themselves are followed. For 1710-11 (for bāgāit) 1 rupee = 28 ṭakās; 1711-12 1 rupee = 25 ṭakās; 1712 1 rupee = 24.75 ṭakās. For the other years the rate is not given in the documents. I have assumed that the rate was 1 rupees = 25 ṭakās.

Table XII

Taxation from Chabūtarā Kotwālī (in percent)

Taxes	Share of each tax in the total revenue[1]
Rāhdārī	0.93
Bhetnōābād	1.74
Betā Huwākā	0.18
Pharōhī	5.63
Byāhgharōchā	1.60
Taḥbāzārī	0.78
Tamākū	0.73
Chungī	0.87
Chungīnāj wa Palā	1.04
Thala Khānd kā	2.73
Ghās Lakṛī	7.34
Lakṛī Purā kī	1.91
Pulmaūṛī dukān ghās lakṛī kī	0.72
Paūṛāv	3.98
Kūṛ Paūṛāv	0.13
Kachā Chōmṛā	0.25

1. I have calculated the total revenue of Chabutara kotwālī of all the five years and then the total revenue (of all the five years) under each head is calculated. To find out the share of each tax in total revenue (of Chabūtarā kotwālī) I have divided the total revenue of each tax with the total revenue of Chabūtarā kotwālī and then find out the percent of each tax.

Table XI Contd..

Taxes	Share of each tax in the total revenue
Chaūram khāmō	0.03
Kirāyā	8.06
Muchalka Jāmnī	0.25
Chhaūdamī	6.66
Ghanṛī tel	0.04
Bughō Mālzādī	0.06
Pauṭhī Bajāj	0.13
Chānd Salāmī	15.45
Paūjāwā	3.17
Dastagarhā Sital Sarrāf	1.01
Gāṭhī kapṛā kī	0.17
Bhāngrā kā rūpyā	0.06
Kānkar nāi	0.05
Consolidated income whose heads are not known	23.52
Muwaī' Ṭakā	1.08

it was probably not realized at fixed rates.

Kirāyā (rent)was another important source of revenue which constituted around 8.06% of the total revenue. It probably comprised rents from land leased out for houses or shops. This is confirmed by a

detailed analysis of the month-wise data which shows hardly any or very little variations in its realization. In 1713-14 the kirāyā was realized under two heads, purā kā (of or from the town) and ātish kī (income from ātishkhāna). The major share was under the head purā kī (98.15%), and only 1.85% came from ātishkī. The tax was realized both in takās and rupees under purā kī, but under ātish kī the income is stated in takas only.

The next important tax was a levy on grass and wood. It was a regular tax realized in all the four years. A tax was also levied on the grass and wood-shops. The income from the sale of wood in the township also came to the chabūtarā kotwālī.

The chhaūdamī ('six dāms') was another important tax whose share in the revenue was 6.6%. It is very difficult to say from whom it was realized. There are month-wise variations in the realization.

The share of pharōhī was 5.63% of the total revenue. Its share in pargana Amber ranges from 2 to 36%[1], while in purā Akbarābād it was 12.17 to 13.76%.[2]

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1. Arhsattā Amber, 1666-1737.

2. B.L. Bhādānī, 'Taxation, Prices and Wages at Agra, 1703-4 and 1709-10' PIHC, 1979, p.384.

Paūṛāv was another important tax realized in the purā. Under this head three types of taxes were realized: jaūleb Khān, nībaṛī and bāgāt/chaūgān. The largest income came from jaūleb khān and the smaller from nībaṛī. The share of bāgāt/chaūgān was negligible. The realization from Kūṛ paūṛāv formed only 0.13% of the total revenue.

Paūjāwā ('for pūjā'), a religions tax was also realized regularly in the purā.

A tax was also levied on sugarcandy (per bag). It is not clear whether it was a tax on the sale of sugarcandy or on its manufacture. The month-wise break-up shows variations, but since it was realized all the year round, it was probably realized on the sale of sugarcandy.

The share of bhetnoabad, byahgharocha, dastagarha Sital sarraf was a little more than 1% each. The other 16 taxes hardly had any importance in terms of revenue collection since their share was quite negligible. The income from cloth, oil-manufacturers, tahbazari, tobacco, rahdari and chungi is rather surprisingly quite low (See Table XII). Chungī, realized on vegetables, foodgrains and grain-loaders or porters formed more than one percent of the total revenue.

Table XIII

Taxation from Bāgā'it (in per cent)

Taxes	Average (of the years 1710-11, 1711, 1711-12 and 1712) (in per cent)	1710-11 (in per cent)
	Jai Singh Purā, Jihānābād	Jihānābād
Bāgā'it	52.82	77.76
a. Bāgh Phulwāṛī	35.64	16.40
b. Bāgh Aūnwākā	22.70	34.11
c. Bāgh Ch'aūgān	35.92	39.09
d. Ātishkhāna kī	0.49	-
e. Miscellaneous	5.25	10.36
Ujūh Sānwaldās Tahwīldār (Tahwīldār's cess)	42.88	22.55
From the sale of bulls	0.17	
Muwaī' Lakṛī	2.41	
Dastagarhā baism Sītal sarrāf		0.26

The income from bāghaūnwā kā obviously came from fruits like mangoes, jāmun, ber and pomegranates.

Under the head 'miscellaneous lands' (jimīnī mutafarriqāt) came rents from tracts of lands of the gardens, rented out each year. One such land of the palace (havelī) was given to Mathura Das who paid the

rent in cash. Another plot was leased to Rūp Rāmjī who grew juwār on that land. In front and back of the palace and kīlī (kīlū) khāna, a charī of juwār was sown, on which the jāgīrdār imposed land-tax. Land was also rented out to a gardener who grew musk melons and in return paid Rs.2. The grass from lands of the palace also constituted a part of the income of the treasury.

Among other sources of revenue under bāgā'it we find the taḥwīldār's cess, amounting to a sizable sum. The dastagarhā from the sarrāfs and income from the sale of wood and old bullocks also came under bāgā'it. However, the income from these heads does not seem to have come regularly.

4. Revenue Administration :

The finance department of the ṣūba was headed by a dīwān. There were separate dīwāns appointed for the ṣūba and chaklas.[1] In 1595 Rām Rā'i was appointed dīwān of Delhi ṣūba.[1] Similarly, Rā'i Kāshī Dās and Rāja Todar Mal were appointed dīwān of chakla Sirhind during Shāhjahān's reign.[2] Separate dīwāns were also appointed in the jāgīrs of the Princes and high nobles.[3]

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1. A.N., III, 670.

2. Lāhorī, II, 409; vol. II, 206, 236, 247, 319.

3. In 1681, Mīr Naṣīrullāh was the dīwān of Asad Khān (Akhbārāt, 22 Aug. 1681).

Along with the office of dīwān, the incumbent could also held other offices. During Shāhjahān's reign we have record of four such dīwāns: Rāī Kāshī Dās (dīwān and amīn of chakla Sirhind), Muʿazulmulk (dīwān and amīn of sarkār Sirhind), Rāja Todar Mal (dīwān, amīn and faujdār of Dipālpūr, Jallandhar, Sulṭānpūr and Sirhind sarkārs) and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ (bakhshī, dīwān-i-biyūtāt and waqāʿī-navīs of Shāhjahānābād).[1]

The dīwān enjoyed wide powers in revenue matters. In a specimen appointment letter (sanad) details of the functions of the provincial dīwāns were given usually as follows[2]: A dīwān was responsible for the extension of cultivation and settlement in the ṣūba; he should take care of the imperial treasury so that no official (ʿāmil, karorī or foṭadār) could exact forbidden cesses; at the end of every agricultural season (kharīf and rabīʿ) he should check from the original rough papers the extortions of the ʿāmils; in case of fraud (by the ʿāmil etc.) he should report the matter to the government; if the ʿāmil had arrears then he should collect it in instalments; state claims should also be realized (from the peasants) in the first season of the present year.[3] A provincial dīwān could also appoint qānūngoes if none was appointed

1. Lāhorī, vol. Ii, 409; vol. II, 116, 206, 236, 247, 319; Ṣāliḥ, vol. III, 7, 260.

2. Here we have a specimen of an appointment letter of a dīwān employed by 'certain' noble in his jāgīr. However, presumably, same functions might have performed by the provincial dīwān as well.

3. Malikzāda, Nigār-nāma-i-Munshī, Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, 1882, p.80.

by the government (central dīwān).[1]

During the Mughal period separate machinery of revenue officials for jāgīr and khāliṣa was set up. We have detailed information regarding the appointments of pargana level officials in the khāliṣa, but we lack similar information for the jāgīr lands.

The most important revenue officials at pargana level were the ʿāmil (or ʿamalguzār) and amīn. In the early years of Akbar's reign it was the shiqdār (or ʿāmil) who held important position at pargana level[2]. In his 19th year Akbar introduced 'Karoṛī Experiment' and an ʿāmil (or karoṛī) was made incharge of both assessment and collection of revenue.[3]

It was during Shāhjahān's reign that Islām Khān, then dīwān, appointed an amīn in each mahal[4], and the work of 'assessment' was thus transferred from the karoṛī to amīn. From now on the karoṛī worked as chief

1. Jawāhar Nāth Bekas, Dastūr-ul-ʿAmal, Aligarh MS., Subhanullah Collection, 954/4, f.85a.

2. Bāyazid (278) held the office of the shiqdār of Hissār on behalf of Munīm Khān in 1561.

3. Agrarian System, 275.

4. An amīn (lit 'a trustee') could be appointed to any department in this capacity. We get as many as 10 different types of offices held by amīn in the ṣūba (see Table XIV).

'collector' while the amīn was the chief 'assessor'. Thus the power of ʿāmils or karorī was reduced drastically during Shāhjahān's reign.[1]

Besides, his role as assessor he was also associated with the management of the treasury along with other officials and was responsible for its safety.[2]

An amīn could be appointed for a pargana, sarkār or chakla.[3] He could held more than one office simultaneously. We frequently met references to the offices of amīn and faujdār being held by the same person.[4] Mīr Ibrāhīm held the offices of dārōgha-i-khazāna-i-kharch-i-kul and amīn of Shāhjahānābād.[5] ʿAbdul Islām was dārōgha-i-muṣarrat and amīn of the salt-market.[6]

It was not essential for an amīn's jurisdiction to be confined to a particular sarkār, it could spread over (parts of) two or more sarkārs. Rāja Todar Mal held

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1. Cf. Agrarian System, 276.
2. Nigārnāma, 142. This was mainly performed by the amīn-i-Shāhdara (market).
3. Muḥammad Dārā was amīn of Shāhjahānābād; Muḥammad Ṣafī was appointed amīn of chakla Mewat; while Ṣaifuddin was amīn-i-pāibāqī of sarkār Sambhal. (Akhbārāt, 17 Rabī-ul-Awwal, 36 R.Y./26 Nov. 1692; 6 Zaī-ul-Qadah and 15 Zaī-ul-Ḥijja, 38 R.Y./29 June and 4 Aug. 1694).
4. See Chapter 8a,Sec.1.
5. Akhbārāt, 9 Zaī-ul-Qadah, 40 R.Y./10 June, 1696.
6. Ibid, 20 Zaī-ul-Qadah, 47 R.Y./7 April, 1703.

Table XIV

OFFICES HELD BY AN AMIN

OFFICE	SOURCE
Amīn of kalāl khāna Shāhjahānābād	A - 13 Zai-ul Ḥijja, 4 R.Y.
Amīn of Sīhazāra garden Shāhjahānābād	A - 27 Ṣafar, 36 R.Y./ 2 Zai-ul-Qadah, 47 R.Y.
Amīn-i-jiziya	A-- 11 Jamādīul Awwal, 36 R.Y. 11 Zai-ul Qadah, 40 R.Y., 2 Muḥarram and 22 Jumādīul Awwal, 48 R.Y.
Amīn-i-tōpkhāna Shāhjahānābād	A - 6 Zai ul Qadah, 38 R.Y.
Amīn-i-pāibāqi sarkār Sambhal	A - 14-15 Zai ul Hijja, 38 R.Y.
Amīn-i-ewāz-i-muraṣṣā'i ālāt Shāhjahānābād	A - 1 Muḥarram, 38 R.Y.
Amīn of salt market	A - 19 Ramzan, 47 R.Y. 20 Zai ul Qadah, 47 R.Y.
Amīn of Shāhjahānābād mint	A - 20 Zai-ul Qadah, 47 R.Y.
Amīn of saḥt khāna Shāhjahānābād	A - 15 Zai-ul Ḥijja, 47 R.Y.
Amīn-i-asp-i-khāṣ Shāhjahānābād	A - 3 Zai ul Qadah, 51 R.Y.

amīnī of 4 different sarkārs, Dīpālpūr, Jallandhar, Sulṭānpūr and Sirhind simultaneously[1]. Similarly Wazīr Khān was amīn and faujdār of sarkār Sirhind and Hissār.[2]

As far, revenue administration of jāgīr-lands at pargana level, the principal officer appointed by the jāgīrdār was ʿāmil who usually combine the functions of amīn and sometimes of the treasurer.[3] Unfortunately, we get no detail information of revenue administration in jāgīr-lands for our ṣūba.

We also get references of the existence of a separate office of amīn-i-jiziya which was, perhaps, introduced during Aurangzeb's reign after the reimposition of jiziya in 1679. In 1704, ʿAbdul Nazīr was dārōgha of salt-mine and amīn-i-jiziya of Mewat; while Amjad Khān held the offices of amīn-i-jiziya, bakhshī, waqāʾī-navīs Shājahānābād and dārōgha of Shāhjahānābād canal simultaneously.[4]

The chaudhrī held an important position in the rural hierarchy. Invariably, a zamīndār used to hold chaudhrāʾī rights.[5] In 1710, Aḥmad Khān Khānzāda got

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1. Lāhorī, II, 206, 236; Ṣāliḥ, III, 7.
2. Akhbārāt, 23 Jumādī-ul-Awwal, 46 R.Y./15 Oct. 1702.
3. Cf. Agrarian System, 284.
4. Akhbārāt, 2nd Muḥarram and 22 Jumādī-ul-Awwal, 48 R.Y. 7 May and 22 Sept. 1704.
5. Cf. Agrarian System, 174, 291.

chaudhrāī and zamīndārī rights in pargana Indore (sarkār (Tijāra).[1] Chaudhrī usually enjoyed hereditary rights. The khānzāda family of Tijāra continued to retain chaudhrī rights from Akbar down to Shāh ʿĀlam's reign.[2] However, an imperial sanad was necessary for the sanction.[3]

The chaudhrī was mainly concerned with the collection of revenue.[4] In lieu, he enjoyed nānkar and rusūm (customary exactions).[5] His share was one percent and he was warned not to extract more than the due share.[6] He was also warned against any forgery, embazzlement or cheating.[7] Besides, he also held revenue-free (inʿām) lands. Shāh ʿĀlam granted to Chaudhrī Aḥmad Khān Khānzāda 500 bīghas of land as inʿām. He also got Rs.1100 as nānkar, Rs.100 as batta from Siri Deha, 8 ānās per hundred as salt-dues and Rs.1 daily as madad-i-maʿāsh.[8]

1. Sharfuddīn Aḥmad, Tārīkh-i-Khānzādah Rājpūt (or Muraqqa-i-Mewāt) ed. Dr. Zabir Akhtar Khanzadah, Hyderabad (Pakistan), Reprint, 1983, pp.202-3.
2. Infra, Chapter 6.
3. Tārīkh-i-Khānzādah Rājpūt , 199-203.
4. Cf. Agrarian System, 292.
5. Tārīkh-i-Khānzādah Rājpūt, 199-203.
6. Bekas, 81-84.
7. Ibid.
8. Tārīkh-i-Khānzādah Rājpūt, 201-2.

He was also responsible for the extension of cultivation.[1] Chaudhrī Rām Prasād was rewarded by an entire village as inʿām and nānkar in cash in sarkār Sambhal for his work done for the extension of cultivation.[2] The chaudhrī also had the right to expel the rebels of the area.[3]

Another important revenue official in the village was qānūngo. He was chiefly connected with revenue-assessment. He recorded all the taqsīm, muʿazana, dastūr-ul-ʿamal, fahrist and jamaʿdāmī papers. After his signatures all these papers were sent to the office of dīwān. No delay or neglect on the part of qānūngo was allowed. If a qānūngo found any fraud in the madad-i-maʿāsh lands or that the grantee had acquired the land illegally, without possessing a sanad, he should report the matter to the dīwān for the benefit of the government and the public (riʿāyā). He could also recommend a person/persons to the dīwān for the assignment of grant. He was also responsible for settlement and extension of cultivation in the village. He was allowed to take 2 percent from the peasants but was warned against any forgery or cheating.[4]

1. Bekas, 88-89.
2. Ibid, 81-84.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid, 84-86.

As far collection of revenue, we frequently met complaints against the illegal exactions of the officials. During Aurangzeb's reign Ṭāhir, Hīrā and Pīr Muḥammad etc., resident of the towns of Moradabad complained against the ʿāmils of pargana Moradabad that they used to extract forbidden cessess from them. They said that upon circumscision of their sons they charged Rs.3/4, for ṭūbāna (?) Rs.1 1/4; and for dharījana Rs.5. Besides, the ʿāmils also compelled them to perform begār (forced labour). For kāh-charāʾī they took more than the legal claims.[1]

Shaikh Pīr Muḥammad, resident of pargana Sikandrabad lodged a complaint, again, against the ʿāmils to the effect that he had a piece of garden in Sikandarabad where the graves of his ancestors were located. The tax on trees, sardarakhtī, could not be imposed on orchards containing graves[2], but the ʿāmils of Sikandarabad had levied it upon them.[3] Similarly, the resident of pargana Palwal, mauzaʿ Hisapur, Duswandhi, Syām and Prahlād etc. complained that village Hisapur was in the ijāra (farm) of Dōst Muḥammad but the chaudhrī (along with the ʿāmil) of that

1. Durr-ul-ʿUlūm, a collection of papers belonging to Munshī Gopāl Rāʾi Sūrdaj, arranged by Ṣāḥib Rāʾi Sūrdaj, A.D. 1688-89. Bodl. Walker-104, f.53a-b.

2. Agrarian System, 244-45.

3. Durr-ul-ʿUlūm, 55b-56a.

mauza' converted it into his ijāra and forcefully extracted Rs.800 from kharīf harvest and the revenue of rabī' crop was also seized by him. Besides, during the period of (last) 5 years Rs.1300 (from the land-revenue) were also taken from them. They confiscated the rough-papers (kāghaz-i-khām). They further complained that in pargana Palwal there were 27 qānūngoes and 13 chaudhrīs but out of them only two chaudhrīs Mund and Hindāl and two qānūngoes 'Abdul Rasūl and Bhuktā were honest. Aurangzeb ordered that all those chaudhrīs and qānūngoes be deposed except the above mentioned four.[1]

The residents of pargana Jahit, sarkār Sirhind alleged that they had paid the required land-revenue (māl-i-wājib) but the 'āmils of the said pargana were demanding more than the fixed one.[2]

Sometimes, the revenue collectors ('āmil etc.) collect the revenue before the harvest was cut. It causedgreat distress.One such case was reported by Balkrishan Brahman : the zamīndārs of pargana Puniya (sarkār Hissār Fīrūza) Manohar Dās, Kishnā, Bhān and Bahlol Da'ūdī etc. complained against Nūr In'ām, 'āmil of Puniya that he had forcefully extracted Rs.500 by selling their children and cattle at a time when the fields/crops were still green.

1. Durr-ul-'Ulūm,65a-b.
2. Ibid, 62a.
3. Bālkrishan Brahman, 63b-64b.

Appendix A

1. Betā Huwā kā : levied on the occasion of the birth of a child. (B.L. Bhadani, PIHC, 1979, p.384).

2. Bhāngrā kā rupyā : probably a tax on opium.

3. Bhet : presents.

4. Bhet nō ābād : Bhet - presents; nō -ābād = naū-ābād, new settlement, i.e. a tax on new settlements.

5. Bughōmālzādikā : tax on prostitutes (Rajasthán Sabad kos, ed. Sitaram Lalas, Jodhpur, vol.IIIiii, p.3719.

6. Byāh Gharōchō (gharechā) : tax on marriage (RSK, I, 806; S.P. Gupta, The Agrarian System of Eastern Rajasthan, Delhi, 1986, p.109.

7. Chānd Salāmi: tax realized at the time of new moon. (RSK, IIi, 885).

8. Chaūram Khāmō : tax on leather garments or on raw leather (F. Steingass, A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary, Delhi, 1973, pp.391, 442).

9. Chhaūdami : a tax realized at the rate of six dāms per unit (H.H. Wilson, A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms, Delhi, 2nd ed. 1968, p.109).

10. Chungi : tax for weighing or as a compensation for the use of market conveniences as bags, booths etc. (Wilson, 116).

11. Chunginaj wa Palā : Chungī (s.v.) on grain and grainloaders/porters.

12. Dastagarhā Sītal Sarrāf : tax realized from sarrāfs or bankers.

13. Pharōhī : grazing tax as well as fines (RSK, IIIii, 2723; B.L. Bhadani, PIHC, 1979, p.384).

14. Ghānṛī Tel : charged from oil manufacturers (RSK, I, 809; V.S. Bhatnagar, Life and Times of Sawai Jai Singh 1688-1743, Delhi, 1974, p.297).

15. Gāṭhī kapṛā kī (gāṭhī pārcha) : tax on bundle of cloth.

16a. Ghās Lakṛī : tax on fire-wood and grass (brought from the forests for sale).

16b. Pulmaūṛī dukān ghās Lakṛī kī : tax levied on the shops of grass and wood.

16c. Lakṛī Purā kī : tax on wood (brought from the townside).

17. Kachchā Chōmṛā : levied on untanned leather.

18. Kankarnāl : probably a tax on stone quarries.

19. Kirāyā : rent (Wilson, 290).

20. Muchalka Jāmnī : levied on deeds of agreements on loans (RSK, IIIiii, 3798).

21. Paūkārī : levied on animal market (RSK, IIIi, 2615).

22. Paūjāwā : a religions tax (RSK, IIi, 2536).

23. Paūṛī (Pauṭh) Bajāj : tax on petty cloth merchants who sell their commodities in the streets or in temporary markets (haṭwārās). (RSK, IIIi, 2602, IIIii, 2845).

24a. Paūṛāv : Tax on camp sites (John T. Platts, A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi and English, Delhi, 1977, p.261).

24b. Jauleb Khān (ghān) : tax levied for arrangements of royal processions (RSK, IIi, 1082-83).

24c. Nībaṛī : (lit.) army (RSK, IIii, 2115). Probably tax levied for the maintenance of the army when the army camped in the township.

24d. Bāgāt/chaugān : Significance not known.

24e. Kūṛ Pauṛāv : A tax levied for the maintenance of camp sites (?). The meaning of kūṛ is not clear.

25. Rāhdārī : transit duties (Wilson, 432).

26. Tahbāzārī : tax realized from the traders for the use of land leased in fairs or markets. (Wilson, 500; S.P. Gupta, Agrarian System, 107).

27. Tamākū (tamākhū) : tax on tobacco (Wilson, 506).

28. Thala khānd kā : tax on (the bags of) sugarcandy (RSK, I, 602, IIii, 1630).

Chapter 5

REVENUE GRANTS

In his chapter on the 'Twelve Provinces' Abūl Fazl provides us with figures of the revenues alienated through suyūrghāl in each pargana. Elsewhere, he classified the suyūrghāl into grants paid in cash (wazīfa) and allotments of land (milk or madad-i-maʿāsh). These were given to four kinds of people: (i) seekers of knowledge and wisdom; (ii) those who have renounced the world; (iii) the weak and the poor; and (iv) to people of noble lineage who did not engage in any profession.[1] In other words, the grants were usually given to scholarly and semi-aristocratic families.

In a large part, the recipients of these grants were Muslims.[2] This can be seen by a scrutiny of the large number of grants surviving from this period from this sūba, which are listed in the Appendix. I have come across only one grant to a non-Muslim from the Delhi sūba, the grantee being a Māthur Kāyasth, Lālā Shrī Rām. In 1616 Jahāngīr granted him a tract of 100 bīghas as inʿām in pargana Amroha.

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1. Āʾīn, I, 198.
2. Cf. Agrarian System, 310-11.

His family held the offices of qānūngo and chaudhrī.[1] This shows that perhaps the grantee held the land tax-free in recognition of the service he had rendered as a local official. Grants to such officials had been curtailed under Akbar, since Abū'l Fazl tells us that the grants of chaudhrīs and Afghāns were resumed by that Emperor.[2]

Some of the grants were made to women who seem to be covered by Abū'l Fazl's category of the weak.[3]

What the grantee obtained essentially was a right to realise land revenue (māl-o-jihāt). They were thus exempted from paying this tax as well as from paying cesses or ikhrājāt (petty burdens imposed by officials) such as sāwarī, qunalgha, zābitāna, jarībāna, takrār-i-zarāat-i-khudkāshta, sad-doī, qānūngoī, begār, gāo-shumārī, muhtarfah and all other fiscal demands (takālīf-i-dīwānī)[4]. Besides,

1. Tārīkh-i-Amroha, I, 161.

2. Āīn, I, 198.

3. For grants to women see Documents of Shāhjahānābād and Kāndhla, Department of History, A.M.U., D.No.2 and 9; also see Maāsir-ul-Ajdād, ed. Moin-ul-Haq, Lahore, pp.532, 542-44, 545; Tārīkh-i-Khānzādah Rājpūt, 303-4.

4. Maāsir-ul-Ajdād, 481. All these taxes have been discussed by B.N. Goswamy and J.S. Grewal in The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar (Simla, 1967; pp.89-92) from which the following explanations are taken: Sāwarī: it is not identified but do-sāwarī is an impost on transit goods. Qunalgha: a gift made to an official. Zābitāna: a levy of one dām per bigha. Jarībāna: assessment on the cultivators for the expense of measurement. Sad-doī: a charge of 2 per cent on the revenue. Qānūngoī: fees for the benefit of the qānūngo. Begār: compulsory labour. Gāo-shumārī: tax on cattle. Muhtarifa: tax on trades and professions. Takrār-i-zarāat-i-khud kāshta: unidentified.

these cesses they were also exempted from peshkash, muhrāna, dāroghāna, shikār, dah-nīmī, muqaddamī, imposition of annual measurement after initial land demarcation (zabt-her-sālah) and all royal taxes (mutālibāt-i-sultānī).[1]

It seems that the grantees usually held their grants for life. Upon the death of the original grantee, the grants were often confirmed in whole or part to their heirs. There are documents showing later Emperors like Aurangzeb and Bahādur Shāh confirming grants originally made in Akbar's time.[2]

Faizī Sirhindī's father who died in 1575-76, had a grant of 1000 bīghas in a village in the vicinity of Sirhind. Shaikh ʿAbdūl Nabī confirmed the whole grant, without any reduction, in favour of Faizī Sirhindī.[3] Subsequently, when Akbar, out on shikār, passed by the village and rested by the side of a tank there, he asked the headman as to who held the surrounding land. When told it was Faizī's grant, Akbar wondered how Faizī had been able to get all the 1000 bīghas held by his father. Later he asked two scholars accompanying him as to Faizī's deserts; both spoke well of him, and Hājī Ibrāhīm Sirhindī

1. Maʾāsir-ul-Ajdād, 529-30. All the taxes are explained by Grewal (see The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar, 89-92) except dāroghāna & muhrāna. The former was a tax levied for the benefit of the dārogha and the latter was a fee paid to the qāzī ostensibly for the seal (muhr) he put on copies of documents (Cf. H.H. Wilson, Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms, Delhi, 1968, pp.320,326, 350). Peshkash: an annual tribute in the form of cash or presents. Shikār: the labour required from the peasants when a hunt was organised for the benefit of some potentate. Muqaddamī : perquisites of the muqaddam.

2. See Appendix, nos. 7,8,15,17,19,20, 21, 22.

3. Faizī, 140a-b.

said that he deserved a grant of 600-700 bighas. Akbar observed that this was what he had obtained and was apparently satisfied.[1]

The madad-i-maʿāsh grants could sometimes be transferred to quite distant places. Thus Akbar transferred the madad-i-maʿāsh grant of ʿAbdul Qādir Badāʾūnī from Bhasawar (in sarkār Agra) to Badāūn (in sarkār Badāūn, sūba Delhi).[2]

The Emperor could resume or curtail a grant at any time, especially upon the death of the grantee. ʿAbdul Quddūs Gangōhī holding his grants in Gangōh, within the later province of Delhi, repeatedly showed his resentment over the curtailment of his grants. In one of his letters to Sikandar Lodī he complained on this ground, that the Sulṭān was not looking after the interests of the scholars and mystics (ʿulama and mashāʾikh).[3] Then, again, while writing to Emperor Bābur he criticised him over the realization of ʿushr, amounting to 1/10 of the produce (or revenue ?) from the grantees.[4]

During Akbar's reign a large number of reductions and resumptions of grants took place. He took harsh steps

1. Ibid, 148a-149a.
2. Badāʾūnī, II, 368.
3. ʿAbdul Quddūs Gangōhī, Makhtūbāt-i-Quddūsiya, Delhi, 1207 A.H./1792 A.D., pp.45-46.
4. Ibid, 336. See Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'Shaikh ʿAbdul Quddūs Gangōhī's relations with Political Authorities - A Reappraisal', MIM, Vol. IV, Aligarh, 1977, p.83.

against the grantees suspected of fraud. For this Akbar ordered concentration of the grants in selected villages. All holders of grants of more than 500 bighas were ordered to come to the court personally for the renewal of their grants and, in case of fraud, their land were resumed. Later on, the limit was reduced from 500 to 100 bighas. Wherever a grantee had, of his own, shifted his grant from the land originally demarcated, he was to lose a fourth of it.[1]

In 1577 Akbar ordered Shaikh Farīd Bukhārī that during his visit to Gohana all grant holders must pay visit to the Emperor for the renewal of their grants so that the authenticity of grants may be fully ascertained.[2]

As a result of Akbar's policy there was considerable distress among the grantees. ʿAbbās Khān Sarwānī writes that Bābur had confirmed in favour of his grand-father, Shaikh Bāyazid, a grant of 2000 bighas (plus one lakh ṭankās) in pargana Banur (later included in sarkār Sirhind). This was renewed by Sher Shāh, in favour of ʿAbbās Khān's father Shaikh ʿAlī. In the 24th Ilāhī year (1579-80) Shaikh ʿAbdul Nabī (then ṣadr), instead of reporting the matter to the Emperor, conferred the whole grant of 2000 bighas to two other Afghāns. As a result, ʿAbbās Khān had to join the services of Saiyid Ḥāmid Gujarātī.[3]

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1. Āʾīn, I, 198.
2. AN, III, 234.
3. ʿAbbās Khān Sarwānī, Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī, Ethe 219 = I.O.218, f. 86a-b.

Considerable resentment seems to have been aroused among the class of the grantees against the policies of Akbar in resuming grants. A tract by Jalāluddīn of Thanesar (sarkār Sirhind, ṣūba Delhi) is of great interest in this connection. He argues that the grants were actually milk and could neither be resumed nor confiscated. He complained that those lands were now not considered as the milkīyat of the grantees and those who could sell their milkīyat lands to other persons, not many years ago, were still not considered as proprietors.[1] The property rights that Jalāluddīn claimed for the grantees were, however, never conceded by the Mughals; even Aurangzeb insisted that the grants were only articles of loan (ʿāriyat).[2]

An incident (described by Faiẓī Sirhindī) which took place at Sirhind in 1585 also brings out the estrangement between Akbar and a section of the grantees. When Akbar passed through Sirhind in 1585, the theologians (makhādim) of the surrounding parganas did not turn up to pay their respects to the Emperor. As a result Akbar ordered that all grantees be required to renew their sanads or grants; and unless they appeared personally to obtain them, they

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1. Shaikh Jalāluddīn Thānesarī (1581-82), Taḥaquq-i-Ārāẓi-i-Hind, Arabic text and Urdu translation published by Saiyid Said Ashraf Nadavi, Karachi, 1963, pp.139-41, 144, 149, 375-76, 559, 561-62.

2. Farmān issued in the 34th year, Allahabad, II, 53 and 55. Cf. Agrarian System, p.303 fn.28.

should not be allowed to enjoy anything of their madad-i-maʿāsh. Thereupon five or six grantees appeared and obtained their sanads. However, most of the others, too, were able to retain their grants owing to the intervention of Abū'l Faẓl. His elder brother Faiẓī came to the author's place to give assurance of sympathy to the alarmed grantees.[1]

The size of the suyūrghāl held under imperial grants may be estimated by relating the Āʾīn's suyūrghāl figures to the corresponding naqdī/jamaʿ figures. The suyūrghāl in ṣūba Delhi amounted to 5.497% (on the basis of stated totals) or 6.313% (on the basis of re-calculated totals of pargana figures) of the jamaʿ of the entire ṣūba. The relative size of the suyūrghāl, however, varies greatly from sarkār to sarkār as is evident from Table I.

The table suggests that the income alienated through suyūrghāl was the lowest in the sarkārs where the waste lands were most extensive: Hissār Fīrūza and Rewari, where there were large wastes and waterless tracts, and Badāūn, which had extensive forests. Suyūrghāl might,

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1. Faiẓī, 185a-186a.

Table I

<u>Suyūrghāl</u> as per cent of <u>Jama'</u>[1]

<u>Ṣūba/sarkārs</u>	Total <u>suyūrghāl</u> as percent of total <u>jama'</u>	
	Stated	Calculated
<u>Ṣūba</u> Delhi	5.497	6.313
<u>Sarkār</u> Delhi	8.934	8.952
Badāūn	1.313	1.305
Sambhal	4.320	4.494
Saharanpur	5.682	5.697
Rewari	2.700	2.511
Hissār Fīrūza	2.676	2.676
Sirhind	7.275	8.339
Kumāūn	-	-

1. I have consulted two MSS. of the Āʾīn, <u>Add</u>. Br. Mus. 7652 and 6552 and the printed text of Blochmann. In case of variations, those figures are taken where two texts tally. In case of variations in all the three texts MS 7652 has been preferred as being the most reliable.

therefore, well have been more frequently sought in the more densely cultivated zones; and this explains its larger size in such sarkārs.

The proportion of the suyūrghāl to jama' again varies considerably from pargana to pargana. Table II sets out the range of variations within parganas composing individual sarkārs.

Table II

Maximum and Minimum Suyūrghāl as percent of Jama' in individual Sarkārs.

Sūba/sarkār	Maximum	Minimum
Sūba Delhi	45.616	0.04
Sarkār Delhi	36.88	0.10
Badāūn	3.91	0.31
Sambhal	15.88	0.05
Saharanpur	15.89	0.54
Rewari	5.23	0.04
Hissār Fīrūza	18.96	0.22
Sirhind	45.62	0.10
Kumāūn	-	-

The geographical distribution of these grants does not show any distinct correlation among parganas.

Shireen Moosvi has raised interesting questions as to why these variations occurred.[1] In the following few paragraphs I have pursued her arguments and methods, but confining the data to the ṣūba of Delhi alone.

In the first place, she has suggested that if the grantees were town-based they were likely to seek grants lying closer to towns. If so, the parganas containing larger towns should have larger size of sūyūrghāl. Unfortunately we have no means of establishing the size by population of the various towns. One index of urban density can, however, be obtained by a scrutiny of archaeological remains.[2]

For our region I have taken suyūrghāl figures (more than 5% of the jama') and the map prepared by Professor Irfan Habib, based on Fuhrer's Monumental Antiquities.[3]

A comparison of maps shows some correlation between the low suyūrghāl figures and the scarcity of remains in the Rohilkhand tract (Badaun and Sambhal sarkārs). This

1. Shireen Moosvi, 'Suyūrghāl Statistics in the Āīn-i-Akbarī: An Analysis', IHR, Vol. II, No.2, 1976, pp.282-298; Shireen Moosvi, The Economy of the Mughal Empire c. 1595, Delhi, 1987, pp.153 & passim.

2. Ibid.

3. Since the map (unpublished but seen at CAS in History) covers U.P. only the comparison of the map with suyūrghāl data is confined to the parganas lying to the east of the Yamuna.

area has very few monuments. Thus to a noticeable extent, the pattern of suyūrghāl seems to correspond with the pattern of urban density.

Another explanation, still, for the variations in size of the suyūrghāl may be found in the local circumstances, especially in the degree to which zamīndārs were willing to tolerate or co-operate with suyūrghāl holders.

It is generally agreed that the bulk of the grant holders (if not all of them) were Muslims. It may, therefore, be assumed that, other factors being the same, Muslim-suyūrghāl holders would prefer to have lands where the zamīndārs were Muslims. The Āʾīn provides us with a pargana-wise record of the jamaʿ-suyūrghāl and zamīndār-castes. With the help of this record we can see whether the parganas, returning Muslim zamīndār clans have a higher proportion of suyūrghāl out of the jamaʿ than the rest. This can be done by grouping all parganas with Muslim zamīndārs (including converted Muslims) on the one side and the non-Muslim zamīndārs on the other and then comparing the suyūrghāl: jamaʿ sratio. In the parganas where both Muslim and non-Muslim zamīndārs are recorded, the jamaʿ and suyūrghāl are equally divided among them.[1]

1. The method followed is the same as the one by S. Moosvi, op. cit., IHR, vol. II, 'Suyūrghāl' Statistics.... pp.282-298.

Table III suggests that in all the seven *sarkārs* (excluding *sarkār* Sirhind) the ratio of *suyūrghāl*: *jama'* is higher for the *parganas* which had Muslim *zamīndārīs*.[1]

Table III

Suyūrghāl as percent of *Jama'*

Sarkārs	*Parganas* with Muslim *zamīndārs*	Other *parganas*
Ṣūba Delhi	8.257	6.249
Sarkār Delhi	14.267	5.006
Badāūn	3.913	1.268
Sambhal	14.247	3.475
Saharanpur	6.549	5.433
Rewari	2.880	2.616
Hissār Fīrūza	4.210	2.902
Sirhind	7.234	9.349
Kumāūn	-	-

Table IV converts the same information into another set of figures. The first column gives the share

1. Tables III and IV are based on my own calculations. The differences with those of S. Moosvi are marginal.

of *parganas* with Muslim *zamīndārs* in the total *jama'* of the *sarkār* and the next in the total *suyūrghāl* of that *sarkār*. The latter figures show that a very large portion of the *suyūrghāl* was concentrated in these *parganas*, although their share of the *jama'* was not large.

Table IV

Jama' and *Suyūrghāl* in *Parganas* with Muslim *zamīndārs*

Sarkārs	Total *jama'* of *parganas* with Muslim *zamīndārs* as percent of total *jama'*.	Total *suyūrghāl* in *parganas* with Muslim *zamīndārs* as percent of total *suyūrghāl*.
Delhi	18.883	30.094
Badāūn	10.507	31.495
Sambhal	12.696	40.243
Saharanpur	27.339	31.424
Rewari	28.579	32.779
Hissār Fīrūza	14.244	22.404
Sirhind	33.927	29.431
Kumāūn	-	-

These data lend support to the view that the grantees probably showed a marginal preference for situating their grants in areas with Muslim *zamīndārs*.

Appendix

List of Revenue Grants

No.	Year	Grant-Holder	Amount of Grant	Place	Remarks	Source
1.	1573	Shaikh Jeo and Shaikh Muhammad Muftī etc.	1347 bigha	Maham	Originally the grant of 2430 bighas was given to Qāẓi ʿAbdul Wahāb in 1562. In 1573, 1347 bighas were granted to Shaikh Muhammad Muftī & Shaikh Jeo and pargana Maham was transferred to khālisa. Besides, one tanka (murādī) daily was also granted to them out of the income of jiziya.	Maʿāsir-ul-Ajdād, 481-83
2.	1607	Bibī Makhdūma d/o Latīf ʿAlī	60 bigha	Kandhla		Documents of Shāhjahānābād and Kāndhla, D.No.2.
3.	1616	Lālā Shrī Rām Kāyasth	100 bigha	Amroha	Given as inʿām. Its one part consisted of cultivated land and the rest was uncultivated land.	Tārīkh-i-Amroha, I,1[illegible].
4.	1616	Shaikh ʿUmar Husain etc.	102 bigha	Amroha		Ibid, II, 58.
5.	1615	Shaikh Muhammad Bāqir and Shaikh ʿAbdul Wahāb S/o Shaikh Muhammad Yūsuf	6008 bigha 15 biswa	Palam	Original grant was of 6008 bigha 15 biswa held by Shaikh Muhammad Yūsuf. After his death, grant of 3815 bigha 2 biswa was given to Shaikh ʿAbdul Wahāb and rest was given to his another son Shaikh Muhammad Bāqir.	Documents of Shāhjahānābād and Kandhla, D.No.1
6.	1653-54	Shaikh Rahmat ullah Khatīb etc.	27 bigha	Maham		Maʿāsir-ul-Ajdād, 523-4.
7.	1662-63	Saiyyid-al-Mursalīn Sikandar	200 bigha	Amroha	Originally granted by Akbar in 1576 to Shaikh Ibban. The grant was then of 400 bighas. After his death, Emperor granted the same grant (by reducing it to 200 bighas) to Shaikh Nūr Muhammad etc. After the death of Nūr Muhammad it was given to Saiyyid-al-Mursalīn Sikandar by Aurangzeb in 1662.	Tārīkh-i-Amroha, I, 301.
8.	1664	Shaikh Mudārī	10 bigha	Maham	Originally given by Shāhjahān in 1648. Renewed by Aurangzeb.	Maʿāsir-ul-Ajdād, 528.
9.	1664	Shaikh Fāẓil Muhammad	5 murādī tankas daily	Amroha	It was granted for the maintenance of the mosque.	Tārīkh-i-Amroha, II, 91.

No.	Year	Grant-Holder	Amount of Grant	Place	Remarks	Source
10.	1665	Nūr Bāno etc.	120 bigha	Maham	On the back side of the farmān the process of its issue is also given.	Maāsir-ul-Ajdād, 529-30.
11.	1666	Bibi Nūr Jahān etc.	100 bigha	Mauza Yahyapur, pargana Amroha		Tārikh-i-Amroha, I, 304.
12.	1669	Muhammad Qayām and Khānzādi (Begum)	25 bigha	Maham	Grant originally made in 1573 to Shaikh Afzal. After his death, transferred to Khānzādi and Shaikh Farid. After the death of Farid, given to Muhammad Qayām and Khānzādi.	Maāsir-ul-Ajdād, 532.
13.	1671	Shaikh Ajmer etc.	50 bigha	Maham		Ibid, 533.
14.	1671	Mainajah Begum etc.	150 bigha	Panipat	It is a consolidated grant given to ten women-grantees. Each got 15 bigha.	Document of Shāhjahānābād and Randhla, D.No.9.
15.	1674	Saiyyid Muhammad Bāqar Bukhāri and his son Saiyyid Rahm 'Ali.	2197 bigha 13 biswa	Palam etc.	Originally the grant was held by Saiyyid Muhammad Bāqir Bukhāri. Later, at his request half of his grant (1098 bigha 16 biswa) was given to his son Saiyyid Rahm 'Ali. However, after the death of Muhammad Bāqir Muhammad Shāh confirmed the whole (2197 bigha, 13 biswa) grant to Rahm 'Ali in 1722.	Ibid, D.No.3-7.
16.	1678	Shaikh 'Abdul Rashid Jeo	Village Madhwa	Madhwa (Amroha)		Tārikh-i-Amroha, II, 98.
17.	1682	Muhammad Murād	18 bigha 18 biswa	Maham	Originally given by Akbar in 1573 to Shaikh 'Abdullah Muhtsib etc.; after his death Aurangzeb confirmed it to his successors Muhammad Murād etc. It was later renewed by Muhammad Shāh in 1724-25.	Maāsir-ul-Ajdād, 538, 547.
18.	1704	Fayāz Bāno etc.	50 bigha	Maham		Ibid, 542-44.
19.	1712	Bibi Sālih	20 bigha	Maham	Originally granted by Aurangzeb. Renewed by Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh.	Ibid, 545.

No.	Year	Grant-Holder	Amount of Grant	Place	Remarks	Source
20.	1725-26	ʻAbdul Waḥīd etc.	18 *bīgha*	Maham	Originally granted in 1573 to Muḥammad Ashraf etc. It was confirmed to ʻAbdul Waḥīd etc. by Muḥammad Shāh in 1725-26.	Ibid, 548.
21.	1729	Karīmullah etc.	17 *bīgha*, 7 *biswa*	Maham	Originally granted to ʻAbdul Razzāq in 1573 After his death it was confirmed to Shāh ʻAbdullah and Darvesh Muḥammad etc. After their death it was given to Karīmullah etc. in 1729.	Ibid, 551.
22.	1745	Shaikh Farīdullah	200 *bīgha*	Amroha	In 1620, Jahāngīr confirmed the grant to Shaikh Ṣadr-ul-Dīn. Later, it was renewed by Muḥammad Shāh to Shaikh Fatḥullah etc. in 1745.	*Tārikh-i-Amroha*, I, 302-3.

Chapter 6

THE ZAMĪNDĀRS

Literally zamīndār (also known as bhūmia) means holder of land. The word zamīndār does not literally mean 'owner' of land, but rather one who controlled it. However, in actual use it was often held to be synonymous with mālik (owner) with the difference that his "right extended over land occupied by a number of persons".[1] It was in other words, a species of superior right.

The nature and jurisdiction of zamīndārs has been made by Irfan Habib.[2] Here, I have attempted to highlight only certain features of zamīndārī rights for which evidence is forthcoming from the sūba of Delhi.

There seems to have been some distinction between zamīndārī and ra'īyatī villages. An administrative manual written in Delhi mentions separate cultivated land of the zamīndārs (khud-kāshta-i-zamīndārān) and ra'īyatī.[3]

The zamīndārs held hereditary rights in the Mughal Empire.[4] After the death of a zamīndār his sons inherited

1. Cf. Agrarian System, 140.
2. Ibid, 136 passim.
3. Dastūr-ul-'Amal-i-Navīsindgī, Br. Mus. Add. 6641, f.183a.
4. Durr-ul-'Ulūm, 43a-b.

equal shares in the zamīndārī. In pargana Mandawar, sarkār Sambhal Būlchand and Sukhānand (cousins, descended from the same grand-father) shared the zamīndārī of their grand-father.[1] Sometimes, the share-holders were recognised but the land was not physically divided and the heirs held the zamīndārī in common.[2] It, sometimes, caused contention among the heirs. Būlchand, one of the co-sharer in the zamīndārī of pargana Mandawar, complaint to the Emperor against his cousin Sukhānand that he had usurped Muḥammadpūr etc., 19 maūza's (including his house (ḥavelī) and garden) from his zamīndārī jurisdiction.[3]

Besides being hereditary, the zamīndārī right was salable as well.[4]

Apart from their fixed share (nānkar, mālikāna)[5], the zamīndārs sometimes extorted prohibited cesses. Residents of village Kilayat, pargana Kaithal, sarkār Sirhind, Srī Chand, Hirdai Rām, Dayāl Dās and Durgā Dās

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

4. Cf. Agrarian System, 151-3, 157-159; Documents of Saharanpur, in the Department of History, A.M.U., D.Nos. 4, 16, 20, 31 and 32.

5. Nānkar : an allowance paid to the zamīndār in lieu of his service in the collection of revenue. It was 1/10th of the revenue demand (Cf. Agrarian System, 174-5). Mālikāna : "when the authorities convert the zamīndar's land into sīr (i.e. impose in it direct assessment and collection of revenue from the peasantry, they give him on account of being the mālik something out of every hundred bighas or every hundred mans of grain" - called mālikāna (Khwāja Yāsin, 'Glossary of revenue and administrative terms, Br. Mues. Add. 6603, f.79a quoted in Agrarian System,146).

etc. preferred a complaint against the Ranghar zamīndārs (Bulāqī, etc.) of village Kilayat. They informed the Emperor that the said zamīndārs levied prohibited cesses upon them, such as Rs. 4 against dastar-shumārī (counting of turbans, a poll-tax), Rs. 2 on marriages (of sons and daughters) and births.[1]

In the account of the twelve sūbas Abū'l Fazl provides us with numbers of the zamīndārs' retainers in the columns headed horseman, foot-retainer and elephant. On the basis of their military strength it may be possible to work out where the zamīndārs were more powerful and perhaps extracted a greater shares in the surplus. A viable method for doing this has been suggested by S. Moosvi, who has suggested that we should estimate the probable expense on retainers and elephants and then calculating the total for each mahal based on the numbers given, divide the total by the jama'.[2]

The result of these calculations is that the zamīndārs of the distant and outlying parganas and sarkārs are seen to possess larger shares in the surplus. The zamīndārs of the sarkār of Delhi, and of sarkār Saharanpur obtained only 4 and 7% of the jama' respectively; while in the outlying sarkārs, the zamīndārs' minimum share

1. Bālkrishan Brahman, 52 a-b.

2. Shireen Moosvi, 'The Zamīndārs' Share in the Peasant Surplus in the Mughal Empire - Evidence of the Āīn-i-Akbarī Statistics', IESHR, Vol. XV, No.3, 1978, pp.363-64'. The minimum expenditures on each horseman, foot-retainer and elephant have been accepted as 1000, 100 and 300 dāms respectively.

ranged from 10 to 20%; but in the sarkār of Hissār Firūza it exceeded 20%. With a few exceptions the pargana-wise study, too, reveals the same trend (see Map 6.1).

Abūl Faẓl also provides us with a detailed list of the zamīndār castes entered against each pargana in the column headed būmī or zamīndār. This account helps us to study the pattern of the distribution of zamīndār castes in different parts of the ṣūba in 1595. The regional distribution can be compared with the position of the various land-holding castes around 1900.

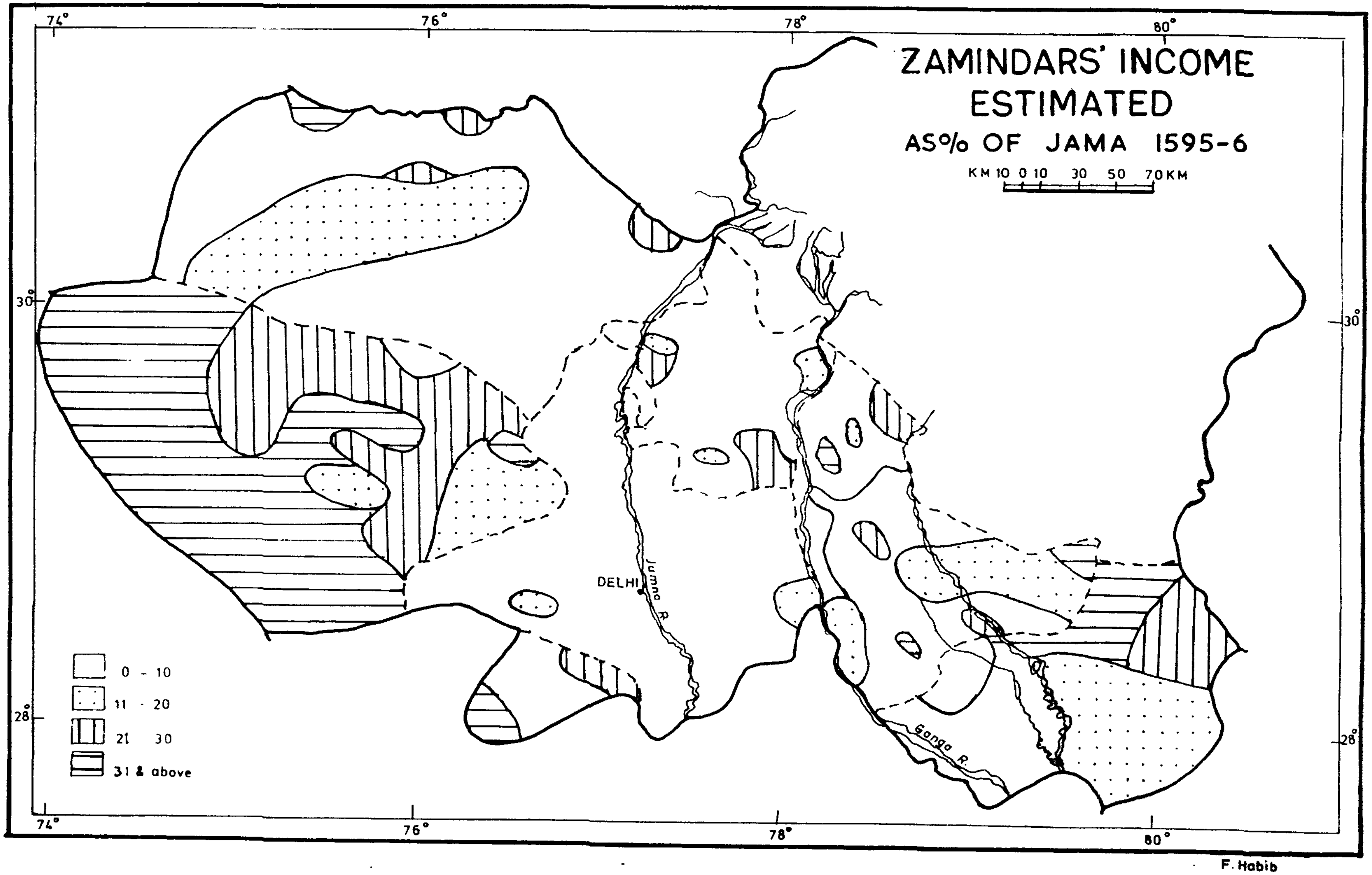
The series of U.P. District Gazetteers edited by Nevill provide us with information about the prominent land-holding castes in each pargana.[1] For the rest of the ṣūba, (portions of the Punjab and Haryana and a small part of Rajasthān), we have to rely on the District Gazetteers of the Punjab and Rājpūtānā.[2] Though these Gazetteers are nct as complete as those of U.P., we nevertheless do get a tahsil-wise account of different land-holding castes.

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1. K.K. Trivedi has covered the U.P. districts in ṣūba Delhi in his survey of 'Changes in caste composition of the zamīndār class in Western Uttar Pradesh, 1595-circa 1900' pp.47-67 (IHR, vol. II, No.1, 1975).

2. Punjab District Gazetteers, series of District and State volumes published from Lahore; Rājpūtānā Gazetteers, vol. III, 'The Western Rājpūtānā States, Presidency and Bikaner Agency', ed. K.D. Erskine, Allahabad, 1909.

MAP 6:1



ZAMINDARS' INCOME
ESTIMATED
AS% OF JAMA 1595-6
KM 10 0 10 30 50 70 KM
74°
76°
78°
80°
30°
28°
DELHI
Jumna R.
Ganga R.
0 - 10
11 - 20
21 30
31 & above
F. Habib

Of the castes recorded by Abūl Faẓl a considerable number continued as <u>zamīndār</u> castes till recent times. But a few castes recorded by Abūl Faẓl remain to be identified.

During the reign of Akbar the Rājpūts were prominent in all the <u>sarkārs</u> of <u>ṣūba</u> Delhi. The Chauhāns were numerous in the <u>sarkārs</u> of Sirhind, Nārnaul and Delhi. They also held one <u>pargana</u> each in the <u>sarkārs</u> of Badāūn and Sambhal. Besides the Chauhāns, the Pundīrs were to be found in the <u>sarkārs</u> of Saharanpur and Sirhind. Few scattered <u>zamīndārīs</u> of Baṛgūjars were in the <u>sarkārs</u> of Sambhal, Delhi and Saharanpur. The Tonwārs held three <u>parganas</u> each in the <u>sarkārs</u> of Hissār Fīrūza and Nārnaul and one <u>pargana</u> each in the <u>sarkārs</u> of Delhi, Badāūn and Sambhal. The Ghorewāha were listed <u>zamīndārs</u> in the <u>sarkār</u> of Sirhind in six <u>parganas</u>; while Barāh held 3 <u>parganas</u> in <u>sarkār</u> Sirhind. The Bais held one <u>pargana</u> each in the <u>sarkārs</u> of Sambhal and Sirhind; Khokhars in Badāūn and Sambhal; Ghelot and Sānd in Delhi; and Bhattīs in Sirhind and Delhi The Jātū, Rāthors, Sālār and Bakkāl were prominent in the <u>sarkār</u> of Hissār Fīrūza; the former also held a <u>pargana</u> in <u>sarkār</u> Nārnaul and Gauṛs in the <u>sarkār</u> of Sambhal. The Bachhāls held <u>zamīndārī</u> in a single <u>mahal</u> in the [illegible] <u>sarkār</u> of Badāūn. The Parihār and Kachhwāhā Rājpūts held 2 and 1 <u>pargana</u> respectively in <u>sarkār</u> Nārnaul.

By 1900, the Rājpūts seem to have improved their position considerably. In the sarkārs of Hissār Fīrūza and Rewari they were still the dominant groups, and in the sarkārs of Delhi, Saharanpur and Sambhal they seem to have extended the area of their control. In other areas, however, their position seems to have weakened. In the sarkār of Sirhind their holdings declined to 10 parganas against 17 (excluding Ranghars) in the Āīn. In the pargana of Garh-muktesar they fell from the first to the fourth position.[1] In the parganas of Saharanpur, Jaurasi, Sarawa, Rurki,Muẓaffarābād and Malhaipur they seem to have lost to the Baniās and Mahājans.[2]

As far the prominence of different clans, the Chauhāns have greatly increased their holdings in the sarkārs of Sambhal and Sirhind; in sarkār Delhi they were still prominent in four parganas, though in pargana Sentha they have lost their position to the Jāṭs.[3] The Pundīrs held prominent land-holding rights in Hapri and Pundri (sarkār Sirhind).[4] However, we do not have details regarding the two Pundīr zamīndārī areas of Fatḥpūr and

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1. Nevill, District Gazetteers, vol. IV (Meerut), 228-29.
2. Ibid, vol. II (Saharanpur), 220-21, 283, 315, 329-30, 339.
3. Ibid, vol. V (Bulandshahr), 170, 228.
4. Punjab District Gazetteers, Karnal District, 1892, p.106.

Mansurpur. But the Pundīrs later increased their position in *sarkār* Delhi from none to one. The Bargūjars increased their holdings in the *sarkār* of Delhi and Rewari, though in the *sarkār* of Sambhal their position seems to have declined slightly (from 3 to 2 *parganas*). The Bhattīs still hold prominent position in Bhatinda. The Rāthors and the Jātūs still (c.1900) held prominent position in the *sarkār* of Hissār Fīrūza. The Katehariās possessed c.1900 a few scattered holdings in the *sarkārs* of Sambhal and Badāūn. Mandhars slightly increased their position in *sarkār* Sirhind and Delhi and Taonīs and Dogars in *sarkār* of Sirhind. The Gaurs seem to have lost all of their holdings in the *sarkār* of Sambhal, though they improved their position in the *sarkār* of Badāūn (from none to three) and marginally in the *sarkār* of Delhi (from none to one). The Tonwars lost their holdings in Sirsawa (*sarkār* Sambhal).[1] The Thākurs, Jangharās, Chandels and Gautams held few scattered *parganas* in the *sarkār* of Badāūn.

The Ranghars(now a converted Muslim Community of Rājpūts) are recorded in the *sarkār* of Sirhind (12 out of 33) and Delhi (5 out of 48); while in the *sarkār* of Saharanpur they held only two *parganas*. By 1900, the Ranghars seem to have greatly increased their holdings in

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1. Nevill, *District Gazetteers*, vol. XIII (Bareilly), 224.

the sarkār of Hissār Fīrūza (from none to eleven) and slightly in the sarkār of Rewari (from none to two). In the sarkārs of Delhi, Sirhind and Saharanpur their position seems to have declined. In the sarkār of Delhi they have lost their holdings in Karnal and Meerut.[1] On the other hand, in Kharkhauda and Rohtak, where earlier no Ranghar zamīndārs were reported they now held considerable holdings here.[2] In sarkār Sirhind their possessions fell from 12 to 5. However, they gained considerably in Maler and Machhiwara.[3] In sarkār Saharanpur they have lost to Mahājans in pargana Muzaffarābād.[4]

The Jāṭs, too, generally increased their possessions since the time of the Āʾīn. Going by the information in the Āʾīn, the Jāṭs were prominent in the sarkārs of Hissār Fīrūza (19 out of 27 parganas), Sirhind (15 out of 33), Rewari (4 out of 12) and in the western portion of the sarkār Delhi (17 out of 48). They also held zamīndārīs in some parganas of sarkārs of Saharanpur (7 out of 36 parganas) and Sambhal (6 out of 47). The Sheorāns, Sangwāns and Puniyās had their holdings in the sarkār of Hissār Fīrūza; while Āwāns held on pargana each in the

1. Ibid, vol. IV (Meerut), 283-84.

2. Punjab District Gazetteers, vol. III A, Rohtak District, pp. 69, 74.

3. Ibid, vol. XV A pt. I (Ludhiana), pp.53, 60-61; Pt. II (Maler Kotla), p.15.

4. Nevill, District Gazetteers (Saharanpur), vol. II, 283.

sarkārs of Sirhind and Saharanpur. By 1900, not only had they succeeded in retaining their position (with the sole exception of pargana Baghra (in sarkār Saharanpur), where the Jāṭs have lost to the Rājpūts)[1], but also greatly increased their holdings in the sarkārs of Saharanpur (from 7 to 20 maḥals), Delhi (17 to 37), Sirhind (8 to 13)[2] and slightly in sarkār Badāūn (from none to one). In the sarkār of Rewari (except Sohna)[3] and Hissār Fīrūza they have retained their position.

The Brahmans held some zamīndārī rights in the sarkārs of Saharanpur, Sirhind, Sambhal, Delhi and Badāūn. By 1900, they seem to have improved their position in the sarkārs of Delhi (7 to 26 including sub-castes), Badāūn (2 to 9), Sambhal (11 to 21), Rewari (from none to 4) and Hissār Fīrūza (from none to 8). In sarkār Sirhind they lost their possessions in Shahabad.[4] In the sarkār of Saharanpur they have also lost greatly (18 to 10).

In 1595, the Tagās (mod. Tyāgīs) were fairly prominent in the sarkārs of Saharanpur (16 out of 36

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1. Ibid, vol. III (Muzaffarnagar), 211.

2. In the Āīn Jāṭ zamīndārs are entered in 15 parganas. But we do not have details of all these parganas. We have a list of zamīndār castes for only 18 parganas in the sarkār. Out of this only 8 return Jāṭ zamīndārī in the Āīn; while by 1900, the Jāṭs occupied land-holding rights in as many as 13 parganas.

3. Punjab District Gazetteers, Gurgaon District, vol. IV A, 174.

4. Punjab District Gazetteers, Karnal District, 1892, p.105.

parganas) and found also in Sambhal (11 out of 47) and in the eastern parts of the sarkār of Delhi (5 out of 48). In the sarkār of Badāūn they held only two parganas. By 1900 the Tagās (Tyāgis) seem to have lost their position greatly in the area of the sarkār of Saharanpur (from 16 to 10). Thus in pargana Khodi, they still held the second position, but the Banias had out distanced them by now.[1] In the sarkār of Saharanpur they lost mainly to the Baniās and Mahājans. In Badāūn they were no longer recorded. On the other hand, in the area of the sarkār of Sambhal their holdings appear to have slightly increased from 11 to 13 (except in A'ẓampūr and Mughalpūr where they lost to Jāṭs and Baniās respectively).[2] In Delhi too they greatly increased their holdings, being now found in 17 instead of only five parganas.[3] In the sarkārs of Rewari and Sirhind they have increased slightly (from none to one).

The Gujars are recorded in the Āīn as zamīndārs in several parganas of the sarkārs of Delhi, Saharanpur and Hissār Fīrūza. By 1900, they seem to have increased their holdings in the sarkārs of Delhi from 9 to 18 (except Jewar), Saharanpur (from 3 to 15) Sambhal (from

1. Nevill, District Gazetteers, (Muzaffarnagar), vol. III, 321.

2. Ibid, vol. XVI (Moradabad), 223-24, 247.

3. Ibid, vol. V (Bulandshahr), 310. In Siyana, where they were no longer found, they seem to have lost to Jāṭs and Baniās.

4. Ibid, 247.

none to 2) and Sirhind (from none to 9); whereas they lost their holdings in someof the parganas of Saharanpur (Ambihta, Rāmpūr, Sarsawa, Kairana and Manglaur) to Baniās and Mahājans;[1] in the pargana Palwal (sarkār Delhi) they lost their possessions seemingly because of the confiscations after Mutiny.[2]

The Thathars (converted Gujars) are recorded in the Āīn as zamīndārs in the sarkār of Rewari (6 out of 12); but by 1900, they seem entirely to have lost their position.

The Ahīrs, in 1595, do not seem to have enjoyed much prominence as zamīndārs in any sarkār. They had few zamīndārīs in the sarkārs of Delhi (2 out of 48), Sambhal (2 out of 47) and Saharanpur (1 out of 36). By 1900, they appear to have lost all of their holdings in the sarkārs of Sambhal and Saharanpur. However, they considerably improved their position in the sarkār of Delhi (being now holding zamīndārīs in 12 instead of 2 parganas) and in sarkār Rewari (3 parganas instead of one). The Āīn refers to the Ahir zamīndārs in the pargana of Sardhana (sarkār Saharanpur), but by 1900, not a single Ahīr holder was important enough to be noticed.[3]

1. Ibid, vol. II (Saharanpur), 277, 294, 306, 399; vol. III (Muzaffarnagar), 268.

2. Punjab District Gazetteers, vol. IV A (Gurgaon District), pp. 22-25, 63-64.

3. Nevill, District Gazetteers, vol. IV, (Meerut), 99.

The Kāyastha held *zamīndāris* in a few scattered *parganas* of *sarkār* Badāūn and Sambhal. By 1900, they increased their possessions in both the *sarkārs* (though they lost their position in *parganas* Kundarkhi and Badāūn).[1] In the *sarkār* of Delhi they have also improved their position from none to two.

A major change since the *Āīn's* time seems to be the emergence of Baniās and Mahājans as large land-holding castes. In 1595 the Baniās were entered as *zamīndārs* only in the *parganas* of Barwala and Hānsī (Bakkāl and Multānī) in the *sarkār* of Hissār Fīrūza and in no other *sarkār*; but by 1900, they held considerable estates in the *sarkārs* of Saharanpur, Sambhal, Delhi and Badāūn (east of Yamuna) and also had a few scattered holdings in the remaining *sarkārs* (except Rewari). In *sarkār* Hissār Fīrūza they lost their original strong-holds but were found as proprietors in the *parganas* of Punyan, Seoran and Sidh-mukh.

The Afghāns are recorded in the *Āīn* as *zamīndārs* in 6 *parganas* in the *sarkār* of Delhi, all west of Yamuna, with a few scattered holdings in the *sarkārs* of Sirhind (where they are recorded as *zamīndārs* in 3 *parganas*), Hissār Fīrūza (in 2 *parganas*) and Rewari (3 out of the total 12). In the Doāb only the *sarkār* of Saharanpur

1. Ibid, vol. XV (Badāūn), 195-96; vol. XVI (Moradabad), 228.

returned Afghāns as zamīndārs and that too in only 4 out of a total 36 mahals. No Afghan zamīndārīs are recorded in the Āʾīn in the sarkārs of Sambhal and Badāūn, which comprised the larger part of modern Rohilkhand. It was during the reign of Shāhjahān that we have our first evidence of Afghān settlements in pargana Kant, where Shāhjahānpūr was founded by the well-known Afghān noble Bahādur Khān.[1] Diler Khān himself founded Shāhābād in an adjoining locality within sarkār Khairābād of the sūba of Awadh; portions of it (pargana Mihrābād) were later transferred to sarkār Badāūn, probably to keep the new Afghān settlements within one political jurisdiction.[2] By the late 18th century the Afghāns (Rohillas) succeeded in establishing their power in the whole Katehr tract, which was now renamed Rohilkhand.[3] The Rohilla war of 1774, the Mahalwārī System and the Mutiny of 1857 resulted in large reductions in their zamīndārīs.[4] Still by 1900,

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1. Elliot, Memoirs, II, 142.
2. Kāghazāt-i-Mutafarriqa, 86b.
3. Rōhilla is a generic term used for all the Afghān tribes. These Rōhillas were the inhabitants of Rōh (Hills) and so known as Rōhilla (Rōhillas), (Cf. Safarnāma, 70).
4. Nevill, District Gazetteers, vol. XV (Badāūn), 149-152; Brennan who discusses the position of Afghān zamīndārs in Rohilkhand in the first half of the 19th century says that the "sales of land for arrears of revenue and debt deprived some of them of the position they held at cession", ('Social Change in Rohilkhand 1801-33', IESHR, vol. VII, No.4, 1970, p.444.

they held considerable areas within the limits of the old sarkārs of Badāūn (in 3 maḥals against nil in the Āʾīn), Sambhal (6 parganas against nil in the Āʾīn) and Saharanpur (9 against 4, but losing in pargana Saharanpur, in the Āʾīn).

In the Haryana region certain definable shifts seem to have occurred. Afghān zamīndārīs are recorded in the parganas of Dhatrat and Tohana in the Āʾīn. We do not have details of these two parganas but by 1900 Afghāns held proprietory rights in the parganas of Maham and Gohana In the sarkār of Sirhind their holdings declined; they were now found in one (Chhat) against 3 parganas (Banur, Chhat and Sirhind) in the Āʾīn. In the sarkār of Delhi Afghans at the time of the Ain held zamindaris in the parganas of Jhajhar, Dadri Taha, Kharkhauda, Sonepat, Tanda Bhawan and Panipat. About 1900, though they retained their position in the parganas of Jhajhar and Sonepat they are not mentioned as important land-holders in the other four parganas. However, they held proprietory rights in the parganas of Mandauthi and Beri Dobaldhan. In the Doāb region of sarkār Delhi the Āʾīn does not mention a single Afghān zamīndārī, but by 1900 they are entered as land-holders in as many as five parganas (Puth, Siyana, Jhinjhna, Garh-muktesar and Dankaur).

Among Indian Muslims the Saiyids had scattered holdings in the sarkārs of Sambhal, Saharanpur, Delhi

and Hissār Fīrūza during the region of Akbar. An important clan of the Saiyids was that of the Saiyids of Barha. They held a single pargana of Behat Kanjawar in sarkār Saharanpur at the time of the Āin. Jahāngīr, while referring to the Bārha Saiyids says that they were so called because they belonged to a group of twelve villages (bārah).[1] In the Doāb, he says, there were twelve villages 'near each other' which 'are the native country of these Saiyids' who came to be known as the Saiyids of Bārha.[2] Elliot and Blochmann trace their descent from Abūl Farāh and divide them into four branches Tihanpuri, Chhatrauri, Kundaliwals and Jagneri.[3] At first they settled in the Punjab with their headquarters at Tihanpur, Chhatbanur, Kundli and Jagner, which gave the names to their branches. Thereafter, they are said to have migrated to the Doāb establishing their headquarters at Jansath (Pargana Jauli), Sambhalhera, Majhera (pargana Sambhalhera) and Bidauli. The Āin records Saiyids (without the further specification of 'Bārha') as zamīndārs in the three adjacent parganas of Jauli, Sambhalera and Bhukarheri. Obviously the Bārha Saiyids are intended.

1. Tuzuk, 366.

2. Ibid.

3. Elliot, Memoirs, I, 297; Blochmann, tr. Āin-i-Akbarī, I, 425-32; Nevill, District Gazetteers, III (Muzaffarnagar), 160.

The Bārha Saiyids enjoyed prominent positions from the days of Akbar. Abūl Faẓl mentions 9 Bārha Saiyids in his list of high *manṣabdārs*;[1] but they reached their highest position of power in the time of Farrukhsiyār.[2] The political importance of the Bārha Saiyids declined during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1719-1748).[3] During the early years of this century the Bārha Saiyids still held about 17% land in Muẓaffarnagar district[4], the great bulk of their possessions were in the *parganas* of Sikri Bhukarheri, Sambhalera and Jauli, their traditional strongholds.[5]

Another important clan of the Saiyids was that of the Saiyids of Amroha. The *Āīn* refers to Saiyids as *zamīndārs* in the *pargana* of Amroha. From the time of Akbar till the end of the reign of Aurangzeb they continued to enjoy a certain amount of prominence as *manṣab* holders. Subsequently, owing to the intervention of the Rōhilla power, their power declined.[6] The Saiyids of Amroha still

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1. Blochmann, tr. *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, I, 427.

2. Elliot, *Memoirs*, I, 12.

3. Blochmann, tr. *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, I, 426.

4. Nevill, *District Gazetteers*, vol. III (Muẓaffarnagar), 113.

5. Ibid, 222-23, 226, 259.

6. *Tārīkh-i-Amroha*, I, 45-47.

held about 27.26% of the whole Amroha tahsil in the early decades of this century; but it was said that they had lost much of their property and were in great poverty.[1]

By 1900, the Saiyids, in general, had increased their position considerably in the sarkārs of Saharanpur (11 parganas against 5 in the Āīn but losing in Bidauli) and Sambhal (11 against 2 parganas in the Āīn). They also improved their position in the sarkārs of Hissār Fīrūza (3 against one pargana in the Āīn) and Delhi 5 against one in the Āīn). In the sarkār of Sirhind they lost their holdings in pargana Sirhind.

Other Indian Muslims or Shaikhzādas did not enjoy a prominent position during the reign of Akbar and had few scattered holdings in the sarkārs of Delhi, Badāūn and Sambhal (holding one pargana in each sarkār). By 1900, they seem to have increased their position in the sarkārs of Delhi (from 1 to 6 but losing in Barnawa), Badāūn (1 to 4), Sambhal (1 to 18), Saharanpur (none to 11) and Sirhind (from none to one).

The Meos and Khānzāds are recorded in the Āīn as prominent zamīndārs in the Mewat tract which mainly

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1. Nevill, District Gazetteers, vol. XVI, (Moradabad), 182, 191.

comprised the *sarkārs* of Tijāra and Alwar.[1] During the period of the *Āin*, in *sarkār* Tijāra 14 *parganas* out of 18 were held by Meo *zamīndārs*. However, in *sarkār* Alwar Meo *zamīndārs* were relegated to second place, the first-being held by the *Khānzāds*. Meo *zamīndārs* controlled 12 *parganas* out of 43 in *sarkār* Alwar.

Till modern times, Meos dominated over all other clans in Mewat.[2] The Meos claim Rājpūt descent.[3]

Abūl Fazl also mentions Mewātīs as Mewras. He describes them as excellent runners. Akbar employed 1000 Mewras in the imperial service in this capacity.[4]

The Meos were probably converted to Islām during Fīrūz Shāh's reign[5]. Now all Meos are Muslims but till recently they still performed several Hindū customs. They observed Holi; the Brahmans used to write *Pīlī Chitthi* in their marriages. However, marriage was performed by the

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1. *Sarkār* Alwar had never been the part of Delhi *sūba*. But to trace the nature of *zamīndār* castes in the whole Mewat tract I have studied the position in *sarkār* Alwar as well. It formed a part of *sūba* Agra under the Mughals.

2. Captain Powlett, *Gazetteer of Ulwur*, London, 1878, Cf. Ibbetson, *Punjab Castes*, p.179; A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, vol. XX, Reprint, Delhi, 1969, p.22.

3. Powlett, Cf. *Punjab Castes*, 180; Cunningham, 23; *Punjab District Gazetteers*, Gurgaon District, vol. IV A, p.59.

4. *Āin* I, 188-89.

5. Cunningham, 24-25.

Qāzīs. They also retained Hindū names like Singh etc; Their women used to work in the fields; They were quite ignorant about their religion as, even they hardly knew the kalīma.[1]

It is difficult to analyse the position of Meo zamīndārs in 1900 since I could not get Powlett's Gazetteer of Ulwur. However, the Urdu work Arzang-i-Tijāra and Gurgaon District Gazetteer give us some information about the position of Meo zamīndārs in certain areas.

By 1900, in pargana Ujhina (sarkār Tijāra) where, at the time of the Āīn, the Khānzāds and Thathar were entered zamīndārs, the Meos were now the zamīndārs.[2] Meos also retained their position in Tijāra, Bisru and Nagina parganas (sarkār Tijāra).[3] In pargana Tijāra out of 107 villages Meos held 61 under their zamīndārī-jurisdiction.[4] Meos were also entered as zamīndārs in tahsil Alwar in modern times.[5]

The Khānzādas were another important caste of the Mewat tract. In sarkār Tijāra during the Āīn shows four out of 18 parganas being held by the Khānzādas. But, in sarkār Alwar the Khānzādas enjoyed great influence and

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1. Powlett, Cf. Punjab Castes, 180; Cunningham, 22-23.
2. Punjab District Gazetteers, Gurgaon,District, 173-4.
3. Ibid, Shaikh Muhammad Makhdūm, Arzang-i-Tijāra, 1873-74, pp.102-109.
4. Arzang-i-Tijāra, 102-109.
5. Ibid, 115 - 142.

and held 18 out of 43 mahals in their zamīndārī.

The Khānzādas claim their descent from Jādon[1] Rāja Tahan Pāl whose descendents Prince Sāmbhar Pāl and Sopar Pāl were reputedly converted to Islām during Fīrūz Shāh's reign. Fīrūz Shāh gave them the title of Bahādur Nāhar and Chhajjū Khān respectively. Khānzādas declared themselves to be the direct descendants of Bahādur Nāhar and Chhajjū Khān.[2]

However, Shaikh Muḥammad Makhdūm in his Arzang-i-Tijāra says that they were in fact the 'slaves' of Fīrūz Shāh and thus can not claim royal descent.[3] Yet Bābur, writing about Ḥasan Khān Mewātī, says that Ḥasan Khān Mewātī received Mewat from his ancestors who ruled there for "nearly 200 years".[4] Aḥmad Yādgār also refers to Ḥasan Khān as a man of 'royal descent'.[5] Ab ūl Faẓl mentions them as Rājpūt convertees of Januhāh clan.[6]

1. Abūl Faẓl (Āīn, II, 57) says that they were the convertees from Januhā clan of the Rājpūts.
2. Powlett, Cf. Punjab Castes, 181-82; Cunningham, 10-11, 15; Punjab District Gazetteers, Gurgaon District, 61.
3. Arzang-i-Tijāra, 5-10. In reply Munshī Aḥmad Khān Khānzādah wrote Tārīkh-i-Arzang-i-Tijāra in Persian immediately after the publication of Arzang-i-Tijāra. Besides, Sharfuddīn Aḥmad in his Tārīkh-i-Khānzādah Rājpūt (or Muraqqa-i-Mewāt) pp.117 passim attacked Muḥammad Makhdūm in severe terms.
4. Bābur-nāma, tr. Beveridge, 577.
5. Aḥmad Yādgār, Tārīkh-i- Shāhī, ed. M. Hidayat Husain, Calcutta, 1939, p.116.
6. Āīn, II, 57.

Though, like the Meos Khānzādas were Muslims they were held to be superior to them in rank. Khānzādas belonged to the ruling class while Meos came from the lower orders. In the words of Powlett they are "better Musalmans".[1] Unlike the Meos they performed no Hindu festivals. However, Brahmans took part in their marriage-ceremonies. Meos allowed their women to work in the fields but khānzāda women never went out to work in the fields.[2] Channing says, that ordinarily the Khānzādas do not intermarry with Meos but the "inhabitants of five villages in the Fīrūzpūr tahsil profess to have been formerly khānzāda and said to have become Meos by intermarriage"[3]. To define the Meo-Khānzāda relationship we can aptly quote an observation that "the Khānzāda are to the Meos what the Rājpūts are to the Jāṭs".[4]

From Fīrūz Shāh's reign onwards Khānzādas retained their position as ruling race in Mewat.[5] Bābur succeeded in crushing the power of Ḥasan Khān Mewātī who sided with Rānā Sāngā in the battle of Khānwa.[6] Later Akbar occupied

1. Powlett, Cf. Punjab Castes, 181.

2. Ibid.

3. Channing, Cf. Punjab Castes, 182; Punjab District Gazetteers, Gurgaon District, 61.

4. Punjab Castes, 182.

5. Cunningham, 13-21.

6. Bābur-nāma, tr. Beveridge, 545, 547.

Mewat and formed two sarkārs Tijāra and Alwar in sūba Agra.[1] Since then the Khānzādas lost their power, as rulers. However, they continued to enjoy high positions locally. From Akbar's reign Khānzādas Amīr Khān, Natthe Khān and later, during Aurangzeb's reign Lashkar Khān enjoyed chaudhrāī rights in Mewat.[2] Chaudhrī Zabardast Khān Khānzāda held the gardens of Malikpur and Barhoji and nānkar rights in pargana Indore. Aurangzeb, in 1689, confirmed his rusūm and nānkar rights in that pargana. Besides, Aurangzeb also granted him 1/4th income of mauza' Jhuwana.[3] In 1709, Shāh 'Ālam conferred Chaudhrāī rights upon Buland Khān Khānzādah in qasba Mubārakpūr. Besides, Shāh 'Ālam also granted him Rs.210 for nānkar and a madad-i-ma'āsh grant of 105 bīghas to Buland Khān.[4] In 1710, when chaudhrī Muḥammad Khān,son of Niẓām Khān,Khānzādah of pargana Indore died, Shāh 'Ālam conferred the chaudhrāī and zamīndārī rights on his son Bahādur Khān.[5]

During Aurangzeb's reign Khānzādas of Mewat also held some in'ām grants. In 1657, Aurangzeb conferred an in'ām grant of 7750 (?) bīghas to 'Itibār Khān son of Lāṭ Khān

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1. Āīn, I, 451-53.
2. Arzang-i-Tijāra, 11-12.
3. Farmān of Aurangzeb, Cf. Tārīkh-i-Khānzādah Rājpūt 199-200.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid, 202-3.

Khānzādah. Out of this half was granted to ʿItibār Khān and the rest was divided among his brothers.[1]

In 1708, Shāh ʿĀlam granted to chaudhrī Bahādur Khān, son of Aḥmad (?) Khān, 500 bighas as inʿām in qaṣba Indore, sarkār Tijāra. Bahādur Khān seems to have enjoyed a fairly prominent position during Shāh ʿĀlam's reign. Shāh ʿĀlam also granted Rs.1100 for nankar and Rs.100 for baṭṭa from pargana Siri Deha and other parganas. He also got the right to collect 8 ānnās per hundred rupees on salt from the qaṣba; one rupee daily was also given to him as madad-i-maʿāsh. He was given exemptions from land-revenue.[2]

Some of the female members of Khānzādah's family also enjoyed madad-i-maʿāsh grants. In 1708, Bībī Bānō etc. held a madad-i-maʿāsh grant of 500 bighas in pargana Tijāra.[3]

Though Khānzādas held strong position in Mewat they always remained turbulent through out the Sulṭanat and Mughal periods.[4] During Aurangzeb's reign the Khānzādas rebelled in 1661.[5] In 1703 Shukr ullāh Khān

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1. Ibid, 198-199.

2. Ibid, 201-202.

3. Ibid, 303-4.

4. Cunningham, 13-21.

5. Akhbārāt, 29 Zal-ul-Hijja and 16 Muḥarram 4 R.Y./ 25 Aug and 11 Sept. 1661.

finally killed Akram Khānzādah, described as the leader of rebelling Mewātis.[1]

By 1900, Khānzādas seems to have lost their position greatly. They held only few villages in Nuh, north of Fīrūzpūr and Sohna (Gurgaon District).[2] In pargana Ujinah, sarkār Tijāra they lost to the Meos and the Rājpūts.[3] In pargana Bisru, too, their possessions had declined.[4] However, in pargana Tijāra their position seems to have improved. Out of 107 villages in pargana Tijāra the maximum number were held by the Meos, but the Khānzādas, yet held 19 villages here. (In the Āʾīn they were not entered as zamīndārs in Tijāra).[5]

Abūʾl Fazl does not enter Kāmbohs as zamīndārs in any pargana under any sarkār. But they are known to have been a prominent community and Akbar's famous noble Shahbāz Khān Kāmboh was one of them. Shaikh Farīd Bukhārī says that this was a prosperous community and Shahbāz Khān's ancestors had been learned men and mystics.[6] He

1. Ibid, 11 Ramzān, 14 Rabīʿ-ul-Awwal, 6 Rabī-ul-Sānī and 27 Shʿabān, 47 R.Y./30 Jan., 28 July, 19 Aug. 1703 and 4 Jan. 1704.

2. Channing, Cf. Punjab Castes, 182; Punjab District Gazetteers, Gurgaon District, 61.

3. Punjab District Gazetteers, Gurgaon District, 173-4.

4. Ibid.

5. Arzang-i-Tijāra, 102-9.

6. Shaikh Farīd Bhakkarī, Zakhīrat-ul-Khawānīn, ed. Syed Moin-ul-Haq, Pakistan Historical Society, Karachi, 1961, p.149.

ascribes to Khān Jahān Lodī the view that the Kāmbohs made good revenue-collectors, but were not well known as soldiers.[1] It is, therefore, surprising that they are not specifically recorded as zamīndārs in the Āīn, though they might, of course, be covered under the more general category of Shaikhzādas (Indian Muslims).

Crooke describes the Kāmbohs as "an influential cultivating and land-owning class found in the Meerut (and Agra) divisions".[2]

The Kāmbohs in recent times had various settlements within the limits of the Mughal ṣūba of Delhi: Bijnor, Meerut, Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar, Maler-Kotla, Patiala and Nabha.[3] The Ẕakhīrat-ul-Khawānīn also refers to the Kāmbohs of Meerut.[4] Khair Andesh Khān, who belonged to this branch, was a noble of Aurangzeb. He is said to have been the faujdār of Etawa and Irij.[5]

By 1900, the Kāmbohs held many villages (in the sarkār of Delhi) in Meerut and Ghaziabad tahsils. In the

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1. Ibid, 154-55.

2. W. Crooke, The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western India, Delhi, 1974, vol. III, p.120.

3. Ibid, 122; Punjab District Gazetteers, vol. XVII A, 68.

4. Ẕakhīrat-ul-Khawānīn, I, 158.

5. Bhīmsen, Nuskha-i-Dilkushā, MS. Br. Mus. Or. 23, pp.125a, 126a, 153b; Sāqī Musta'id Khān, Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī, Bib.Ind., Calcutta, 1871, p.441.

sarkār of Saharanpur they held villages in pargana Muẓaffar-ābād. But, here, their holdings came to even less than 2.5% in the pargana.[1] It seems that, though they held several villages in the Meerut and Saharanpur districts, even they do not come among the first five prominent proprietory castes in any single pargana of the districts. But in the sarkār of Sirhind, in the parganas of Maler-kotla, Sunam Shāhābād and Banur they are listed among the first five castes of the parganas.[2]

The Āīn lists the following castes among zamīndārs, which can not, however, be identified: Dewak, Bahā, Kāhor and Ṭok (in sarkār Badāūn), Dewar and Marmān (in the sarkār of Delhi), Mundiar (in the sarkār of Saharanpur), Dasiā (in the sarkār of Sirhind) and Khāndār and Makar in the sarkār of Narnaul.

On the other hand a number of small clans or castes holding estates around 1900 are not recorded as zamīndārs in any pargana in the Āīn. These are: the Kurmīs and Khattrīs (in the sarkār of Sambhal), Raiens (in the sarkār of Sambhal and Sirhind), the Arains, Dogars the Sainis and Mālīs (in the sarkār of Sirhind) and Bohras (Muslim money-lenders) in the sarkār of Saharanpur.

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1. Nevill, District Gazetteers, vol. II, (Saharanpur), 283.

2. Sir Denzil Ibbetson, Punjab Castes, Lahore, reprint 1916, p.201; Crooke, 122; Punjab District Gazetteers, vol. XVII A, 68.

Chapter 7

JĀGĪR AND KHĀLIṢA ADMINISTRATION

The Mughal governing class was usually paid either in the form of territorial revenue assignments or in cash from the treasury. The territorial assignments were called jāgīrs, with tuyūl and iqṭa' used as synonyms. The holder was termed jāgīrdār (rarely tuyūldār). The land whose revenues were reserved for the imperial treasury was known as Khāliṣa-i-Sharīfa.[1] Territory assigned in jāgīr could be transferred to khāliṣa and vice-versa. In 1560-61 Hissār Fīrūza, which was the jāgīr of Khān-i-Khānān, was transferred to the khāliṣa[2]. During Shāhjahān's reign, a letter in Bālkrishan Brahman's collection refers to the transfer of Hānsī and Hissār, excluding the market-dues (maḥṣūl-i-sā'ir) of Shāhganj, from the khāliṣa to Prince Mu'azzam.[3] Sirhind which was assigned under Sher Shāh to Khawāss Khān[4]; was held in Akbar's early years by Sher Muḥammad Dīwāna.[5] But

1. Cf. Agrarian System, 257-259.

2. Bāyazid Bayāt, Tazkira-i-Humāyūn-wa-Akbar, ed. Muhammad Hidayat Husain, ASB, Calcutta, 1941, p.248.

3. Bālkrishan Brahman, 103b-104a.

4. Badā'ūnī, I, 375.

5. Ibid, II, 40; AN, II, 109.

in Shāhjahān's reign it was within the Khālisa-i-Sharīfa.[1] During Aurangzeb's reign pargana Dadri, which was under khālisa, was granted to Khān-i-Jahān Bahādur.[2] Similarly, Sherkot and Jalālābād, which were in the jāgīr of Shāhzāda Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh and Saiyid ʻAbdullāh Khān respectively, were transferred to the Khālisa in 1699.[3] In 1700, Gohana was taken away from Muḥammad Zamān and incorporated into the khālisa.[4]

As the jāgīrs were assigned in lieu of salaries, their jamaʻ should have been equal to the actual receipts (ḥāsil). But no estimated figure could, of course, exactly anticipate actual receipts. It could at best be an approximation for the average receipts over a number of years. When the jāgīr of Sunam was being assigned to Bāyazid at 29 lakh dāms he was pressed to agree to a higher jamaʻ. Rāja Todar Mal insisted that Bāyazid should give 16 lakhs of tankas (32 lakh dāms) owing to it having increased in prosperity. He stated that another officer, Muẓaffar Ṣiddiquī was ready to accept it at this figure. Bāyazid protested and did not accept the higher figure; and

1. Lāhorī, II, 247.

2. Akhbārāt, 5 Zaī-ul-Ḥijja, 38 R.Y./28 July, 1694.

3. Ibid, 22 Zaī-ul-Qadah, 43 R.Y./22 May, 1699.

4. Ibid, 7 Muḥarram, 44 R.Y./24 June, 1700.

Fatḥullāh Shīrāzī, then Amīn-ul-Mulk, had to intervene. Ultimately, it was assigned to him by the Emperor at a jama' of 14½ lakhs of ṭankas.[1]

The jāgīrs, unless they were waṭan or altūn-tamghā, were neither hereditary nor permanent. They were subject to transfer usually within three or four years. (See Appendix for information on jāgīrdārs of selected localities).

Jahāngīr started assigning some jāgīrs to his nobles on a permanent basis to enable them to establish their family seats there. This special assignment was called altūn-tamghā or āl-tamghā.[2] Like the waṭan-jāgīrs it was permanent and could be made hereditary. Muqarrab Khān, for example, got his āl-tamghā jāgīr in his waṭan Kairana.[3] A similar jāgīr seems to have been granted to Rustam Khān in Sambhal, since it remained with him for a very long time.[4]

There were certain jāgīrs usually assigned to princes or high-ranked nobles. Hissār Fīrūza seems to have that particular status. Beni Prasad has used the word

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1. Bāyazīd, 363-64, 372-73. In the Āīn-i-Akbarī, pargana Sunam has a net jama' (naqdī less than Suyūrghāl) of 70 lakh dāms or 35 lakh ṭankas.
2. Tuzuk, 10.
3. Lāhorī, Ii, 159.
4. Ibid, Iii, 208-9, II, 20; Wāriṣ, 34, 84, 87-88, 135, 138, 194.

"heir-apparent's fief" for it.[1] Bābur had assigned it to Humāyūn.[2] During Humāyūn's reign it was held by Akbar.[3] Akbar gave it to his wakīl, Munim Khān Khān-i-Khānān[4]. Jahāngīr in his early reign 1606-7 assigned it to Prince Khurram[5], but later on transferred to Shaharyār.[6] Under Shāhjahān it remained in the Khālisa. Under Aurangzeb, it was given to Prince Múazzam[7]. Subsequently Prince Muḥammad 'Āzam held this assignment.[8]

The process of transfer of jāgīr was not always a smooth process. During the reign of Shāhjāhān, Sīmī Khān got the pargana of Nal-Basrah as his tankhwāh (jāgīr in lieu of salary). When he sent his agent (gumāshta) Shaikh 'Abdullāh to administer his jāgīr, he was not permitted to enter the pargana by Chatur Bhuj Sonkara. This led to much dispute.[9] Similarly, during Aurangzeb's reign

1. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, 5th ed., Allaḥabad, 1962, p.349.
2. Bābur-nāma, (tr.), 466, 528; Turkish Codex, f.263a, 297a.
3. Lāhorī, Ii, 541-542.
4. Bāyazid, 248.
5. Tuzuk, 63.
6. Ibid, 348.
7. Bālkrishan Brahman, 103b-104a.
8. Akhbārāt, 8 Jumādī-ul-Awwal, 44 R.Y./21 Oct. 1700.
9. Bālkrishan Brahman, 65b-65a.

Muḥammad Munīm complained against Ḥusain Kāmbo that the latter had realized the revenue from his jāgīr.[1] Ẓafar Khān also reported to the Emperor that the zamīndārs of chakla Moradabad were harassing his jāgīr. The sons of Tahmasp Khān (the previous 'assignees ?) had taken away the kharīf realization and when he tried to rehabilitate the peasants and wanted to realize his claims from the rabī' harvest he had been transferred.[2]

However, there were also cases where jāgīrdārs and their agents (gumāshtas) used to commit oppression and extract illegal cesses. Complaints were against Ratan Rāi, an officer posted under Rāja Bishan Singh, used to extort forbidden cesses, and in punishment his jāgīr was transferred.[3] A similar complaint was reported against the gumāshtas of Kamāluddīn Khān at Badāūn. Badāūn was originally granted to Kamāluddīn Khān and other jāgīrdārs. But Lāl, one of the Afghān gumāshtas of Kamāluddīn Khān not only extracted his own due claims, he also trespassed on villages which fell under other jāgīrdārs' jurisdictions. He seized women and children to be sold as slaves. Even, it became difficult for the merchants and passers bys to carry on their work.[4]

1. Akhbārāt, 11 Ṣafar, 36 R.Y./22 Oct. 1692.
2. Ibid, 6 Zaī-ul-Qadah, 38 R.Y./29 June, 1694.
3. Ibid, 24 Shabān, 36 R.Y./30 April, 1693.
4. Ibid, 14 Ṣafar, 37 R.Y./ 15 Oct. 1693.

The *jāgīrdār* had to bear all the risks of fluctuations of revenue. Akbar made it a rule that any increase in the revenue was to be left to the assignee with a corresponding increase in his *manṣab*.[1] Akbar assigned the *pargana* of Sunam, of the value of 29 lakhs of *dāms* to Bāyazid in the full knowledge that this understated its revenue-paying capacity and so would given an extra benefit to Bāyazid.[2]

It was not very easy to get a *jāgīr* right from the date of one's appointment or promotion. Bāyazid complained that he and his sons got the *jāgīr* of Sunam at 14½ lakhs of *tankas* in 1584. But no *jāgīr* for the balance of their salary amounting to 18,000 *tankas* (36,000 *dāms*) was assigned. And this assignment had not still been made in 1590-91 when he was dictating his memoirs.[3]

The *jāgīrdār* apparently exercised considerable authority within his *jāgīr*. Diwān Saiyid Muḥammad, after getting the assignment of *pargana* Amroha, dismissed the *kotwāl* Nāmdār Khān and appointed a man of his own choice. But this was against the prevalent norm; and he had to request the Emperor for approval of his action which was granted.[4]

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1. *AN*, III, 459.
2. Bāyazid, 363-64.
3. Ibid, 372-74.
4. *Tārīkh-i-Amroha*, I, 310-11.

Theoretically, peasants could complain to the Court against the oppression of the *jāgīrdārs* etc. but in practice they might be physically prevented from doing so.[1]

1. Bālkrishan Brahman, 60a.

List of _Jāgīrdārs_

Year	Assignee	Assignment	Source
SAMBHAL			
1556	Khān-i-Zamān ʿAlī Qulī Khān Shaibānī	_Sarkār_ Sambhal and _parganas_ of _Miyān-i-Doāb_.	_AN_, II, 45; Faiẓī, 9b.
1566	Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzā Masʿud Ḥusain Mirzā ʿĀqil Ḥusain Mirzā	_Sarkār_ of Sambhal, ʿAẓampūr and Nihtaur	_AN_, II, 279-80, Badāʾūnī, II, 85, 91; Faiẓī, 65b.
1568	Mīr Muḥammad Khān vice/Ḥusain Qulī Khān	_Sarkār_ Sambhal	_AN_, II, 332-3; Badāʾūnī, II, 106.
1533	Saʿid Khān	_Sarkār_ Sambhal	_AN_, III, 397.
1589	Qulij Khān	_Sarkār_ Sambhal	Ibid, 537.
1595	Mirzā Qāndhārī vice/Abūʾl Faẓl	Sambhal	Ibid, 671; Badāʾūnī, II, 403.
1606	Mirzā ʿAlī Akbar Shāhī	_Sarkār_ Sambhal	_Tuzuk_, 11.
1615	Mirzā ʿĪsā Khān Tarkhān	Sambhal	Ibid, 148.
1629	Khān-i-Zamān	_Sarkār_ Sambhal	Lāhorī, Ii, 269, 298.
1630	" "	" "	Ibid, 305-6.
1632	Muqarrab Khān Deccanī, Rustam Khān Bahādur Fīrūz Jang	Sambhal	Ibid, 425.
1634	" " "	"	Ibid, Iii, 7.
1635	" " "	"	Ibid, 72, 76.
1636	" " "	"	Ibid, 208-9.
1638	" " "	"	Ibid, II, 20.
1647-48 — 1651-52	" " "	"	Wāriṣ, 34, 84, 87-88, 135, 138, 194.

contd.../2

List of Jāgīrdārs contd...

Year	Assignee	Assignment	Source
KANT-O-GOLA			
1570	Ḥusain Khān	Kant-o-Gola	Badāūnī, II, 126.
1572-73	" "	" "	Ibid, 136, 151.
1574	" " (ceased)	" "	Ibid, 178-9.
1	" " (reappointed)	" "	Ibid, 184-5.
MORADABAD			
1658	Qāsim Khān	Moradabad	ʿĀlamgīrnāma, 126-127.
1660	" "	"	Ibid, 491.
1694	Ẓafar Khān	"	Akhbārāt, 6 Zaī-ul-Qadah, 38 R.Y./29 June 1694.
MISCELLANEOUS			
1693	Kamāluddīn Khān	Badaun	Ibid, 14 Ṣafar, 37 R.Y./15 Oct. 1693.
1694	Kām Bakhsh	Dadri	Ibid, 4 Jumādī-ul-Awwal, 38 R.Y./1 Jan. 1694.
1694	Jumdat-ul-Mulk Khān Jahān Bahādur	"	Ibid, 5 Zaī-ul-Ḥijja, 38 R.Y./28 July, 1694.
1615	Khān ʿĀẓam	Dasna, Kasna	Tuzuk, 142.
1700	Muḥammad Zamān (transferred)	Gohana	Akhbārāt, 7 Muḥarram, 44 R.Y./24 June, 1700.
1699	Saiyid ʿAbdullāh Khān	Jalalabad	Ibid, 5 Zaī-ul-Ḥijja, 38 R.Y./28 July, 1694.
1702	Bahr Mand Khān (d) Munīm Khān	Jalalpur Barwat " "	Ibid, 12 Rajab, 46 R.Y./2 Dec. 1702. Ibid.
1628	Muqarrab Khān	Kairana	Lāhorī, II, 159.
1646	" "	"	Ibid, II, 613.

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List of Jāgīrdārs Contd...

Year	Assignee	Assignment	Source
MISCELLANEOUS contd..			
1666	ʿIzzat Ullāh	Kharkhauda	Akhbārāt, 2 Rajab, 9 R.Y./29 Dec. 1666.
1700	Saiyid Najhuddīn	Khatauli	Ibid, 19 Zaī-ul-Hijja, 44 R.Y./7 June, 1700.
1657-58	Dārā Shukoh	Mewat	Ṣādiq Khān, 100a.
1702	Muhammad etc. (transferred)	"	Akhbārāt, 19 Rajab, 46 R.Y./9 Dec. 1702.
1701	Muhammad Husain S/o Mukhlis Khān	Palam	Ibid, 6 Shʿabān, 44 R.Y./16 Jan. 1701.
1562	Mīr Muhammad Munshī	Sarwat	Badāūnī, II, 54.
1694	Bahādur ʿAlī Khān	Shāhjahānābād	Akhbārāt, 23 Shawwāl, 38 R.Y./21 June, 1694.
1694	Khān Jahān Bahādur vice/ Prince Muhammad Kām Bakhsh	Shāhjahānpūr	Ibid, 4 Zaī-ul-Hijja, 38 R.Y./28 July, 1694.
1694	Prince Muhammad Muʿazzam	"	Ibid, 4 Jumādī-ul-Awwal, 38 R.Y./21 Dec. 1694.
1699	Prince Muhammad ʿĀzam (transferred)	Sherkot	Ibid, 22 Zaī-ul-Qadah, 43 R.Y./22 May, 1699.
1559-60	Sher Muhammad Dīwāna	Sirhind	AN, II, 109, Badāūnī, II, 40.
1584	Shaikh Bāyazīd	Sunam	Bāyazīd, 363-64.

Chapter 8

ADMINISTRATION OF THE ṢŪBA

8a GOVERNORS

1. Office of Governor:

Much work has been written about the nature, tenure, jurisdiction and powers of the Mughal Governors, (designated ḥākim, sipah-sālār or nāẓim).[1]

The appointment of governors solely depended upon the will of the sovereign. However, eminent persons and high officials were also consulted and their recommendations were usually accepted. Muḥammad Yār Khān, an eminent noble and the governor of Delhi, when he had himself fallen ill recommended that the governorship of Delhi might be entrusted to Mukhtār Khān, nāẓim of Akbarābād. The recommendation was accepted by the Emperor.[2]

At times, certain influential nobles were given by the Emperor the choice to select a post of their liking.

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1. J.N.Sarkar, Mughal Administration, Calcutta, 1952; P. Saran, Provincial government of the Mughals; Athar Ali, 'Provincial governors under Shahjahan: an analysis' and 'Provincial governors under Aurangzeb', Medieval India Miscellaney, Vol. I & III, 1969,1975; Jagdish Narain Sarkar, Mughal Polity, Delhi, 1984; A. Ray, some aspects of Mughal Administration, Delhi, 1984

2. Akhbārāt, 21 Shawwāl, 46 R.Y./21 March 1702.

Akbar offered Muḥib ʿAlī Khān, options of four different appointments, viz., the office of mīr-ʿarz, superintendant of harem, governorship of a remote province or the governorship of Delhi. Because of his old age he preferred the governorship of Delhi.[1]

Akbar introduced a new device in the 31st year of his reign (1586). He appointed two governors simultaneously to a single province, in order that, if one "came to the court or should fell ill, the other might look after his work". As a result, Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram and Abūl Fazl were appointed joint-governors of Delhi.[2] However, lateron this practice fell into disuse.

Sometimes a governor was allowed to hold more than one office at a time. Dānishmand Khān held the office of mīr-bakhshī, nāzim and qiledārship of Delhi simultaneously[3] Muḥammad Yār Khān also held together the sūbedārī of Delhi as well as the faujdārī of Moradabad.[4]

When the Emperor was in residence at any of the capital cities (Delhi, Agra, Lahore etc), no governor was appointed there. The Governors, functioned only in the absence of the imperial court.[5] Abūl Fazl, referring to

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1. AN, III, 248.
2. AN, III, 511.
3. Maʾāsir, 105.
4. Akhbārāt, 4 & 9 Rajab, 46 R.Y./24 & 29 Nov., 1702, Maʾāsir, 462.
5. P. Saran, 161-62, Athar Ali, Provincial....., MIM, III, 80.

the appointment of joint-governors in Lahore, clearly says, 'as the court was there (Lahore) the palace dīwān and bakhshi were sufficient.'[1] Dānishmand Khān was the Governor of Delhi since 8 R.Y. of Aurangzeb (1665-66); when in the 10th R.Y. (1667-68) Aurangzeb stayed at Delhi for two consecutive years, he was thereupon made mīrbakhshī during the 10th and 11th R.Y.(1668-69), and was restored to his post of the Governor of Delhi in the 12th R.Y. (1669-70) when the imperial court shifted to Agra.[2] In the 14th R.Y. (1671) when the Emperor returned to Delhi, Nāmdār Khān, the then Governor of Delhi was transferred to Akbarābād, and the Emperor himself administered the affairs of the sūba till 17 R.Y. (1673-74) when the court shifted to Ḥasan ʿAbdāl.[3] In the 19th R.Y.(1676-77) the imperial court returned to Delhi and the Emperor remained here till 22 R.Y. (1678-79).[4] The reference to the Governor of Delhi cease for this period.[5] In 22 R.Y., the imperial court shifted to Ajmer.[6] After that the Emperor remained away from Delhi and in 1682 moved to the Deccan. This period saw the long tenure of two Governors, ʿĀqil Khān (16 years) and Muḥammad Yār Khān (11 years).[7]

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1. AN, III, 511.
2. ʿĀlamgīrnāma, 1067, Maʾāṣir, 64, 91-91, 105.
3. Maʾāṣir, 112-113, 131.
4. Ibid, 154, 180.
5. See section 2 of this chapter.
6. Maʾāṣir, 180.
7. See the notices of ʿĀqil Khān and Muḥammad Yār Khān, infra.

There seems to be no specific rule for the tenure of the governors. Foreign travellers observed that the tenure of a governor used to be a short one. Tavernier says that 'a governor was expected to retire from a province in three years.'[1] Peter Mundy also remarks that the governors were transferred within three or four years.[2] Terry and Manrique say that the usual term was very short.[3] Beni Prasad[4] and Prof. Athar Ali[5] have concluded that the average term of a governor was very short, falling within the range of three years, except in Aurangzeb's reign when the average exceeded to 3¼ to 4 years.

Section 2 of this chapter on individual Governors suggests that the period of appointment was not fixed; sometimes the period was as long as 16 years and at times governors were transferred within a few months.

During the fifty years of Akbar's reign only four governors enjoyed a tenure of more than four years (Shihābuddīn Aḥmad K͟hān 4 years 4 months, K͟hwāja ʿAbdul Mājid 4½ years; Muḥib ʿAlī K͟hān 4 years, and ʿAbdul Wahāb

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1. Tavernier, 63.
2. Peter Mundy, Travels in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667 ed. Sir Richard Temple, Hakluyt Society, 1914, Vol.II, p.85.
3. Manrique, I, 53, W.Foster (ed), Early Travels in India, (Terry), 326.
4. Beni Prasad, 105-7.
5. Athar Ali, Provincial ... MIM, Vol.I, 97-98, Vol.III, 81-82.

Bukhāri, 5½ years). Tātār Khān held the office for two years. The other governors were transferred within or after one year.[1]

Under Jahāngir, out of a total of eight appointments only two were appointed for more than four years (Shaikh Bāyazid 4½ years, Saiyid Bahwa Bukhari 4 years). Jahangir re-appointed Saiyid Bahwa Bukhari in 14 (1619-20) and 18 (1623) R.Y.[2]

During the reign of Shahjahan out of 12 governors, only Mukramat Khān and Khalīl Ullāh Khān served for more than five years (both 8½ years each). The others had the span of three years or less.[3] No governor is reported to have been re-appointed.

Under Aurangzeb out of 13 governors (including re-appointments) two served for more than five years each (Muḥammad Yār Khān 1½ + 10 years 10 months and 'Āqil Khān for 16 years). Dānishmand Khān held the office for one and then 3½ years.[4] Thus the span of governorship was much longer in Aurangzeb's later years when he was

1. See Section 2 of this chapter.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

busy in the Deccan and had little time to look after the administration of northern India.

As for the group from which the governors came, it would seem that Tūrānis were favoured for the office under Akbar. During Jahāngīr's reign their position declined sharply and later under Aurangzeb they have lost almost entirely.[1]

Jahāngīr, who is generally supposed to have followed a pro-Irānī policy chose only two Irānīs out of his six appointments to the post of Governor of Delhi. However, their sharp rise is evident in Shāhjahān's reign. Out of his eleven governors of the province, nine were Irānīs. Under Aurangzeb all the ten governors appointed were Irānīs.[2]

As for Indian Muslims, out of 13 governors only two were Indian Muslims under Akbar. Under Jahāngīr out of six four were Indian Muslims. But, in the succeeding reigns, they seem to have been eclipsed.[3]

As for other groups (Afghāns or Rājpūts) none was ever appointed Governor of Delhi.

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

2. Individual Governors :

In the following pages, we have collected information about the background and activities of the individual Governors. We must remember that before 1580, when the suba of Delhi was formed, persons who held the post of Governors of Delhi only controlled the city and its immediate neighbourhood.

At the occassion of Akbar Tārdī Beg Khān Tūrānī was the Governor of Delhi.[1] He was a distinguished noble of Humāyūn who rendered valuable services for Humāyūn in recovering Hindūstān.[2] After Humāyūn's death he recited the Khutba in the name of the Emperor Akbar and sent him the insignia of sovereignty.[3] However, in a clash with Ḥājī Khān, a noble of Sher Shāh, he had to flee.[4] For this he was put to death by Bairām Khān's sub-ordinates (1556-57)[5].

Mahdi Qāsim Khān, an Irānī, was now appointed Governor of Delhi.[6] He was the brother of Ghazanfar Khān.[7] He had joined Humāyūn's service after his return from Persia. It is not known when Qāsim Khān relinquished his office of Governor of Delhi, but the Maāsir-ul-Umarā' says on unknown authority that Shahābuddīn Aḥmad Khān was appointed Governor of Delhi in I.R.Y. (1556-57),[8] so that

1. AN, II, 20, Khwāja Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad, Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī, ed. B.De, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1931, Vol.II, pp.124-28.

2. AN, I, 272,275, 330-1, 342-4.

3. Ibid., 364-5.

4. Ibid, II, 20, Badāūnī, II, 13-14.

5. AN, II, 32-33.

6. Ibid. 48.

7. Badāūnī, II, 125.

8. Shāh Nawāz Khān, Maāsir-ul-Umarā', ed. Maulvi Mirza Ashraf Ali, Calcutta, 1890, II, p. 567.

Qāsim Khān's tenure must have been very short. The Tabaqāt mentions him among the nobles of 5000 zāt while the Āīn lists him under the commanders of 4000 zāt.[1] After 1556-57 we hear of him as late in 1566-67 (11 R.Y.) when he was appointed Governor of Kara.[2]

Shahābuddīn Aḥmad Khān, another Irānī, had held the office of mīr biyūtāt in 1554-55 A.D.[3] During his governorship, in 1560-61, he played an important role, along with Maham Angā in overthrowing Bairām Khān.[4] He came from Delhi to Sikandara Rao to meet the Emperor and successfully poisoned the Emperor's mind against Bairām Khān.[5] He repaired Fīrūz Shāh's canal, from Khizrābād to Safedon and named it 'Shahābnahr'.[6] Perhaps, on account of this great work, when he died in 35 R.Y. (1590-91), Abūl Fazl described him as "one of the distinguished men of the age in the matter of developing the cultivation of the country".[7] We do not know much about his subsequent career, though we know that, he had held the Governorship of Malwa in the 12th R.Y. (1567-68).[8]

Khwāja 'Abdul Mājid Harwī, another Irani, succeeded Shahābuddīn Aḥmad Khān in 1560-61.[9] He was the brother of Wazīr Khān.[10] He entered the service of Humāyūn and was one of the amīrs accompanying Humāyūn on his return to India.[11] He held the office of sharf-i-dīwānī till the 5th year of Akbar's reign.[12] In that year, along with the Governorship of Delhi, Akbar conferred on him the title of Āṣaf Khān[13]

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1. Āīn, I, 223; Tabaqāt, II, 432.

2. Badā'ūnī, II, 125.

3. AN, I, 354; Badā'ūnī, I, 463-64. The latter says he was bakhshi.

4. AN, II, 94-96; Badā'ūnī, II, 36-37; Tabaqāt, II, 143.

5. Ibid.

6. Wāris, 39; Ṣāliḥ, III, 29.

7. AN, III, 584.

8. Ibid, II, 271; Tabaqāt, II, 215.

9. AN, II, 283.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid, I, 342.

12. Ibid, II, 111.

13. Ibid; Badā'ūnī, II, 43; Tabaqāt, II,148.

and the *mansab* of 3000 *zāt*.[1] During the term of his Governorship at Delhi, in 6 R.Y. (1561-62) he was sent to Battha against Rāja Rām Chand, and to seize the fort of Chunar.[2] In 1563-64 he succeeded in defeating Rāja Rām Chand and Ghāzī Khān Tannerī and Battha was occupied.[3] As a reward, he got a large portion of *sarkār* Kaṛa as his *jāgir*.[4] In 1564-65 he was transferred from Delhi and was appointed Governor of Garha-kantanga.[5]

Our next reference to a Governor of Delhi is under 11 R.Y. (1566-67), when we find Tātār Khān Tūrānī holding the office.[6] His name was Ṭāhir Muḥammad, and Akbar gave him the title of Tātār Khān.[7] During his tenure of Governorship he informed Akbar that Muḥammad Amīn Dīwāna had fled from Lahore to Bhojpur, the *jāgīr* of Shahāb Khān Turkmān.[8] He is said to have accused Nūruddīn Muḥammad Tarkhān of lampooning officials in Delhi.[9] He was a noble of 1000 *zāt*. He held the Governorship of Delhi till his death in 1568-69.[10]

The next Governor known to us is Dōst Muḥammad Tūrānī who held the Governorship of Delhi in 18 R.Y. (1573-74).[11] He is mentioned as the son of late Tātār Khān Tūrānī and thus known as *Tātārcheh*. He died in 1573-74 in a skirmish with the Rājpūts of Sirohi.[12]

In 1575-76 Ṭaiyab Khān, Mīr Farāghat, another Tūrānī, is found holding the Governorship of Delhi.[13] He was the son

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1. *M.U.* I, 78.
2. *AN*, II, 148, 150.
3. Ibid, 182.
4. Ibid.
5. Mulla Aḥmad Tattawī and Āṣaf Khān, *Tārīkh-i-Alfī*, I.O 113 , f.613b.
6. *A.N.* II, 280, 288.
7. *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 443.
8. Ibid, 208; Badā'ūnī, II, 93-94.
9. Badā'ūnī, III, 199.
10. *Ṭabaqāt*, III 443.
11. Badā'ūnī, II, 140.
12. *AN*, III, 5; Badā'ūnī, II, 140.
13. Badā'ūnī, II, 185-6.

of Tāhir Khān. In 1575-76 he was deputed to suppress Chander Sen, son of Maldeo in Jodhpur and Siwanah.[1]

Again, after a gap, I'tibār Khān is found holding the office in 23 R.Y. (1578-79).[2] We have a fragmentary remark in the Akbar-nāma where Abūl Fazl, writing in 40 R.Y. (1595-96), says, "on seeing a coat (jāmah) His Majesty says, 'it seems that this is Ikhlās Khān's who had been one of the eunuchs of Jinnat Āshiyānī and had been made an amīr and had died 17 years before this".[3] Prof. Athar Ali says that he held the Governorship in 30 R.Y. (1585-86).[4] But the reference cited by him does not contain this statement.[5]

The Tabaqāt mentions I'tibār Khān and Ikhlās Khān separately. It counts I'tibār Khān, as a grandee of 2000 zāt,[6] and Ikhlās Khān a grandee of 1000 zāt.[7] Both have been described as Governor of Delhi. However, the Āin refers only I'tibār Khān Khwāja Sarā and the Zakhīrat-ul-Khawānīn only to Ikhlās Khān Khwāja Sarā in the list of the nobles of 2000 zāt.[8] It seems that the two were really the same person, and I'tibār Khān held the title of Ikhlās Khān and had held the mansab of 2000 zāt.[9] His name was Khwāja Ambar Nazīr and he was one of Bābur's eunuch's.[10] He was given the title of I'tibār Khān by Humāyūn.[11] When Humāyūn left Qandahar to recover Hindūstān he left I'tibār Khān incharge of the ladies.[12]

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1. Ibid.
2. AN, III, 697.
3. Ibid, Since no other information is available, on the basis of Abūl Fazl's statement it is inferred that he must have been Governor of Delhi in the 23rd R.Y.
4. Athar Ali, Apparatus of the Empire, Oxford, 1984, xxxiii, & p.12.
5. Ibid. Prof. Athar Ali have cited page 511 of the vol. III of Akbarnāma where Shāh Qulī Khān Mahram and Abūl Fazl are mentioned joint-governors.
6. Tabaqāt, II, 443.
7. Ibid, 444.
8. Āīn, I, 224, Shaikh Farīd Bhakkarī, Zakhīrat-ul-khawānīn, Karachi, 1961, vol. I, p.226.
9. A. Ali, Apparatus, xxxiii & p.12.
10. AN, I, 224.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.

In 2 R.Y. of Akbar (1557-58) he accompanied Mariam Makānī and other Begums from Kabul to India.[1] Later for an unknown period of time he was appointed Governor of Delhi where he died.[2]

Muḥib 'Alī Khān, a Tūrānī, was appointed Governor of Delhi in 23 R.Y. (1578-79).[3] He was the son of Mīr Niẓāmuddin 'Alī Khalīfa, wakīl-us-Sulṭanat, a distinguished noble of Bābur.[4] From his early days he had been a companion of Akbar.[5] In 16 R.Y. (1571-72), after many years of retirement he was restored to favour and a jāgīr in Multan was assigned to him.[6] In the 23rd R.Y. he was appointed Governor of Delhi.[7] In 1580-81 he was given charge of the fort of Rohtas.[8] The Ṭabaqāt says that he died in 1581-82 while holding the office of the Governor of Delhi.[9] It includes him among the manṣab-holders of 4000 ẕāt. However, the Āin lists him among the holders of 1000 ẕāt only.[10]

In the 31st R.Y. (1586), under Akbar's new system of joint-appointments, Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram and Abūl Faẓl were appointed Governors of Delhi.[11]

Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram Irānī was a trusted servant of Bairām Khān.[12] He had captured Hemū at the battle of Panipat and thus received royal favours.[13] On account of his great service Akbar conferred the title of 'Mahram' (confident) on him.[14] In the 35th R.Y. (1590) he was sent to suppress Shekhāwat Rājpūts who had plundered Bairat, Mewat and Rewari.[15] In the 41st R.Y. (1596-97) his rank was raised to 4000 ẕāt.[16] At Nārnaul he erected splendid buildings and dug large tanks.[17]

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1. Ibid, II, 55.
2. Ibid, III, 697, Ṭabaqāt, II, 444.
3. AN, III, 248.
4. AN, III, 248, Ṭabaqāt, II, 435.
5. AN, III, 248.
6. Badā'ūnī, II, 134.
7. AN, III, 248.
8. Badā'ūnī, II, 282.
9. Ṭabaqāt, II, 435. However, Badā'ūnī (II, 310) referring to the year 990 AH, Sh'abān/Aug-Sept., 1582 says that Muḥib 'Alī Khān, along with Ṣādiq Khān successfully quelled the revolt of Khabisa Bahādur in Bihar.
10. Ṭabaqāt, II, 435; Āin, I, 224.
11. AN, III, 511.
12. Ibid, II, 33 et passim.
13. Ibid, 39; Badā'ūnī, II, 16.
14. MU, II, 607.
15. AN, III, 577.
16. AN, III, 701.
17. Blochmann, tr. I, 387.

From the 32nd to 42nd R.Y. (1587-88 – 1597-98), we have a gap of eleven years for which we have no information of any Governors of Delhi.

We learn, however, that in the 43rd R.Y. (1598-99) Shāham Khān Jālair (Tūrānī) was transferred from the Governorship of Delhi.[1] He was the son of Bābā Beg Jālair, a distinguished noble of Humāyun.[2] In the 32nd R.Y. (1587-88) he was assigned a jāgir in Garh and his mansab was raised to 3000 zāt.[3] We do not know when he was appointed Governor of Delhi. However, Abūl Fazl says that Shāham Khān was removed and censored because he had started living in ease and had entrusted the province into the hands of the oppressors.[4] But, on account of his assistance in the Asir compaign he was again restored to favour.[5]

'Abdul Wahāb Bukhārī, an Indian Muslim, succeeded Shāham Khān in the 43rd R.Y.[6] He continued in the office till Akbar's death. In the first year of Jahāngīr's reign he was dismissed on a charge of misconduct with his subordinates.[7]

Shaikh Bāyazid Mu'azzam Khān, an Indian Muslim, was appointed Governor of Delhi in place of 'Abdul Wahāb Bukhārī in the Ist year of Jahāngīr's reign (1606-7).[8] He was a grand son of Shaikh Salīm Chishtī.[9] At the time of Akbar's death he held the rank of 2000 zāt.[10] In the Jahāngir's first R.Y.

1. AN, III, 748.
2. MU, II, 603.
3. Ibid, 604.
4. AN, III, 748.
5. Ibid, 772.
6. Ibid, 748.
7. Tuzuk, 35.
8. Ibid., 37.
9. Ibid, 14.
10. Ibid.

his rank was increased to 3000 zāt and he was given the title of Muʿazzam Khān.[1] Jahāngīr says that his mother had served him as a foster-mother but for one day.[2] He also praised his intellect and knowledge.[3] In the 3rd R.Y. (1608-9) his mansab was raised to 4000/2000.[4] In the 5th R.Y. (1610-11) he was sent to suppress the rebels in the neighbourhood of Delhi.[5] He seems to have died in the 6th R.Y. (1611-12) since his sons were granted special promotion that year.[6]

Muʿazzam Khān was succeeded by Shaikh Hasan Muqarrab Khān, another Indian Muslim, who was appointed Governor of Delhi in the 7th R.Y.[7] (1612-13). He was the son of Shaikh Bāhā, a well-known physician and surgeon of Akbar's time.[8] Muqarrab Khān was also a surgeon of considerable repute.[9] He had served Jahāngīr since his childhood, when he was Prince.[10] Jahāngīr granted him the title of Muqarrab Khān.[11] Jahāngīr praises him highly for being alert in his service and skilled in archery and musketry.[12] In 1612-3 he obtained an enhancement of 500/500, his rank now being 2500/1500.[13]

During his short term of Governorship Jahāngīr presented him a jewelled dagger (khapwāh) when, as a surgeon, he bled Jahāngīr.[14] On account of his old service Jahāngīr

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1. Ibid, 14, 37.

2. Ibid, 14.

3. Ibid, 37.

4. Ibid, 66.

5. Ibid, 82.

6. Ibid, 98.

7. Ibid, 109; Kāmgar Husain, Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī, ed. Azra Alvavi, Bombay, 1978, pp.159-60.

8. AN, III, 712, Tuzuk, 12.

9. Tuzuk, 12. For further biographical details see Ali Nadeem Rizvi's article, 'An aristocratic, surgeon of Mughal India - Muqarrab Khān, paper read at the IHC, Kurukshetra, 1982.

10. Tuzuk, 12.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid, 106. On page 104 Jahāngīr says that his mansab is 3000/2000 which seems incorrect. Only after another enhancement of 500/500 (p.112) his rank was increased to 3000/2000.

14. Ibid, 110.

also conferred a flag and a drum and his mansab was raised to 3000/2000 by an enhancement of 500/500.[1]

Muqarrab Khān's family seat seems to have been in the Delhi sūba, at Kairana. He built Shāh Sharaf's tomb at Panipat and erected fine buildings at Kairana.[2] He also laid out a beautiful garden of 140 bighas at Kairana. It was covered with pucca walls. Therein he built a tank of 220x200 yards. He brought seeds of mango trees from the Deccan and Gujarat and planted those at Kairana.[3]

Muqarrab Khān was transferred to the port of Cambay in the very next year (i.e. 8 R.Y./1613-14).[4] The prominence enjoyed by Muqarrab Khān during Jahāngīr's reign ended during Shāhjahān's reign. Shāhjahān's court historian Lāhorī criticises Jahāngīr for having given such high status to Muqarrab Khān, who was a surgeon and therefore presumably unsuitable for such high office. This was proved, he adds, when Muqarrab Khān was appointed governor of Gujarat and failed to administer it properly. Jahāngīr, therefore, had to replace him thereby Shāhjahān.[5]

In the 14th R.Y. (1619) Saiyyid Bahwa Bukhārī, Dīndār Khān, another Indian Muslim, was appointed Governor of Delhi.[6] The Zakhīrat-ul-Khawānīn says that he was a son-in-law of Murtaza Khān Bukhārī.[7] When he was the Governor of Delhi, he presented 3 elephants, 18 horses and other gifts to Jahāngīr, most of which were returned to him as a mark of favour.[8] Jahāngīr also ordered him, in the capacity of a Governor, to serve and guard 'Āqa 'Āqayān in Delhi.[9] As a reward for his

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1. Ibid, 112.

2. MU, III, 381.

3. Tuzuk, 283; Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī, III, 557.

4. Tuzuk, 125.

5. Lāhorī, II, 159.

6. Tuzuk, 281.

7. Zakhīrat-ul-Khawānīn, II, 304.

8. Tuzuk, 281.

9. Ibid, 282.

good service the *faujdārī* of the neighbourhood of Delhi and the *qiladārī* (office of castellan) of Delhi was also bestowed upon him.[1] His *manṣab* was enhanced to 1000/600 and an elephant was also given to him.[2] In the 15th R.Y. (Feb.1621) he was transferred from Delhi as an ambassador to the Uzbek Khānate.[3]

He was succeeded by Mīr Mīrān, then *faujdār* of Mewat.[4] Mīr Mīrān, an Irānī, was the eldest son of Mīr Khalīlullāh Yazdī who came to India from Irān in the 2nd or 3rd year of Jahāngīr's reign (1607-8 1608-9).[5] In the 13th R.Y. (1618-19) his *manṣab* was enhanced to 2000/600.[6] Along with the Governorship of Delhi in the 15th R.Y. (1620-21) a special horse an elephant, a sword and a *manṣab* of 2000/1500 were given to him.[7] We do not know of his next appointment. However, in the 17th R.Y. (1622-23) his rank is given as 2500/1400.[8] He died the same year.[9]

In the 16th R.Y. (3 June, 1621) Mukarram Khān, an Indian Muslim, was appointed Governor of Delhi.[10] He was the son of Muáẓẓam Khān.[11] In the 12th R.Y. (1617-18), while serving in Orissa he had subjugated the territories of the Rajas of Khurda and Raj Mahendra.[12] Along with the Governorship of Delhi, the *faujdārī* of Mewat was assigned to him, and his *manṣab* was fixed at 3000/2000.[13]

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1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. *Maāṣir-i-Jahāngīrī*, 325.

4. *Tuzuk*, 324. *Maāṣir-i-Jahāngīrī* (325) says that he was appointed *faujdār* of Delhi.

5. *Tuzuk*, 150.

6. Ibid, 249.

7. Ibid, 310, 324.

8. Ibid, 344.

9. Ibid, 352.

10. Ibid, 332, *Maāṣir-i-Jahāngīrī*, 334.
11. *Tuzuk*, 125.
12. Ibid, 214-5.
13. Ibid, 332, *Maāṣir-i-Jahāngīrī*, 334.

In the 18th R.Y. (Jan. 1624) Saiyyid Bahwa Bukhārī was re-appointed Governor of Delhi, vice Mukarram Khān.[1] He held the office till the 21st R.Y. (1626-27).[2] He was then sent in pursuit Mahābat Khān.[3]

In the 22nd R.Y. (1627-28) Mukhtār Khān Sabzwarī was appointed in place of Saiyyid Bahwa Bukhārī.[4] The Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā says that his name was Saiyyid Muhammad. He had received the title of Mukhtār Khān under Jahāngīr, when his rank was 2000/1200.[5] In the Ist year of Shāhjahān's reign (1628-29) he was removed from Delhi.[6] and was appointed faujdār of sarkār Monghyr.[7]

When Shāhjahān ascended the throne he appointed Qulij Khān Tūrānī as Governor of Delhi in place of Mukhtār Khān.[8] We do not know much about Qulij Khān's earlier career. The Ma'āsirul Umarā says that in his early days he was a servant of 'Abdullāh Khān (Fīrūz Jang), but later on he joined the service of prince Shāhjahān. He was the younger brother of Khān Qulī Bahādur.[9] Upon his appointment as Governor of Delhi his mansab was raised to 2500/2000 amd he was honoured with a robe, a jewelled sword, a flag, a horse with a silver-saddle, an elephant and Rs.25,000 in cash as inam.[10] He was also awarded a kettle-drum.[11] In the 2nd R.Y. he was transferred to the Governorship of Allahabad and his mansab was enhanced to 3000/2000.[12]

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1. Tuzuk, 337, Ma'āsir-i-Jahāngīrī, 387.
2. Tuzuk, 409.
3. Ibid.
4. Lāhorī, Ii, 126, Qazwīnī, 131b.
5. MU, III, 409, 411.
6. Lāhorī, Ii, 126, Qazwīnī, 131b.
7. Lāhorī, Ii, 199-200.
8. Lāhorī, Ii, 118, 126, Qazwīnī, 129b.
9. MU, III, 92.
10. Lāhorī, Ii, 118, 126, Qazwīnī, 129b.
11. Lāhorī, Ii, 226.
12. Ibid, 2$5.

The famous Mahābat Khān, an Irānī, succeeded Qulij Khān in the 2nd R.Y. (1629-30).[1] Zamāna Beg was the son of Ghaiyūr Beg. He served Jahāngīr from early in life, having entered his service as an ahadī and soon rose to the post of the bakhshī of shāgird-pesha.[2] Jahāngīr gave him the title of Mahābat Khān in the Ist R.Y. (1606-07).[3] He was subsequently given important commands; but his coup in 1626 failed, and he fled to Shāhjahān, then himself a rebel at Nasik in the Deccan.[4] When Shāhjahān ascended the throne he gave him the title of Khān Khānān Sipah Sālār, with the rank of 7000/7000 (2x3).[5] He was also appointed Viceroy of the Deccan; but he was soon assigned the charge of Delhi.[6] In the 4th R.Y. (1631) during his Governorship he made an offering of 18 Punjab horses and rich clothes to the Emperor.[7] He continued in office till the 5th R.Y. (1631-32) when he was transferred to the Governorship of Khāndesh and then of the Deccan.[8]

'Abūl Hasan Lashkar Khān[9] succeeded Mahābat Khān in the 5th R.Y. (1631-32).[10] He had been the dīwān of Prince Murād and later entered the service of Prince Salīm.[11] After Jahāngīr's accession he was honoured with the title of Lashkar Khān.[12]

When Shāhjahān ascended the throne he got the rank of 5000/4000 and the Governorship of Kabul.[13] In the 5th R.Y. (1631-32) he was discharged from Kabul and appointed Governor of Delhi.[14] However, on account of old age he was pensioned

1. Lāhorī, Ii, 255; Qazwīnī, 173a; Ṣādiq Khān, 8b.

2. Tuzuk, 10.

3. Ibid.

4. Tuzuk, 402 et passim.

5. Lāhorī, vol. II, 117.

6. Ibid, 199.

7. Ibid, 367.

8. Ibid, 424.

9. Zakhīrat-ul-khawānīn, I, 207. The only Lashkar Khān mentioned in the Tuzuk (129) is Mutaqid Khān, son of Iftikhār Khān.

10. Lāhorī, vol. Ii, 440.

11. MU, III, 163.

12. Ibid.

13. Lāhorī, Ii, 120.

14. Ibid, 440.

off in the 6th R.Y. (1632-33) with a revenue-grant.[1] The author of Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā says that the reason given is not plausible as he was not so old to carry on his duties. Probably for some reason he had lost favour with the Emperor.[2]

Mirzā Shāpur I'tiqād Khān, another Irānī, succeeded Lashkar Khān.[3] He was the son of I'timād-ud-daula.[4] In the 16th year of Jahāngīr he was made Governor of Kashmir and held the office till the 5th year of Shāhjahān.[5] Upon his appointment as Governor of Delhi he was presented with a robe of honour and a horse.[6] In the 7th R.Y. (1633-34) he was transferred and appointed sūbedār of Allahabad.[7]

We find Bāqir Khān Irānī holding the Governorship of Delhi in the 8th R.Y. (1634-35).[8] His father was the dīwān of Khurāsān.[9] Shāh 'Abbās conferred the hereditary title of Najm-i-Sānī on the family.[10] Jahāngīr used to call him farzand (son).[11] At the end of Jahāngīr's reign he was made Governor of Orissa.[12] He continued to hold the office till the 5th R.Y. of Shāhjahān. He was removed from there in the same year on account of allegations that he oppressed the local people.[13] Later, he was appointed to the Governorship of Gujarat.[14] He must have been transferred soon afterwards to Delhi.[15]

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1. Ibid, 472, Qazwīnī, 266a.
2. MU, III, 167.
3. Lāhorī, Ii, 472, Qazwīnī, 266a.
4. Lāhorī, Ii, 472.
5. Tuzuk, 335.
6. Lāhorī, Ii, 472, Qazwīnī, 266a.
7. Lāhorī, Iii, 285.
8. Ibid, 72, 76, Qazwīnī, 340a.
9. Zakhīrat-ul-Khawānīn, II, 254.
10. MU, Ii, 408.
11. Ibid, 410.
12. Ibid.
13. Lāhorī, Ii, 430.
14. Ibid, Iii, 8.
15. Ibid, 71-72, 76, Qazwīnī, 340a.

As Governor of this sūba he quelled an uprising of "rebels" on the eastern side of the Yamuna, in cooperation with Islām Khān and other commanders posted from the court.[1] He simultaneously held the faujdārī of chakla Sirhind, in which capacity he had charge of re-excavating the Chitung river flowing down to Hānsī and Hissār.[2] But his tenure of sūba of Delhi proved to be quite brief, and the same year (8th R.Y./7th April, 1635) he was transferred to the sūbedārī of Jaunpur.[3]

Mīr ʿAbdul Hādī Aṣālat Khān, another Irānī, succeeded Bāqir Khān.[4] He was the son of Mīr Mīran Yezdī.[5] In the 3rd year of Shāhjahān Mīr ʿAbdul Hādī received the title of Aṣālat Khān.[6] On 19 Feb. 1635 he was sent along with other commanders to operate against the rebels across the Yamuna.[7] In the same year (8th R.Y.) along with the grant of Governorship of Delhi his manṣab was enhanced by 1500/1700 to 3000/2500.[8] A special robe of honour, a flag and an elephant were also conferred on him.[9] During his Governorship he constructed a dam near Palam on 'the Karnal stream'.[10] He continued in office till the 10th R.Y. (1636).[11]

In 1636, Khwāja Kāmgar Ghairat Khān Tūrānī was appointed Governor of Delhi.[12] He was the brother's son of ʿAbdullāh Khān Fīrūz Jang.[13] As a reward for his services during the revolt of Khān-i-Jahān Lodī (1631), he had been honoured

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1. Lāhorī, Iii, 71-72, 76.
2. Bālkrishan Brahman, 107a-109b.
3. Lāhorī, Iii, 87, Qazwīnī, 341b.
4. Lāhorī, Iii, 87.
5. Ibid, Ii, 73.
6. Ibid, 299.
7. Ibid, Iii, 71.
8. Lāhorī, Iii, 87, Qazwīnī, 341b. The latter gives his manṣab 2500/1500.
9. Lāhorī, Iii, 87; Qazwīnī, 341b.
10. Lāhorī, II, 112.
11. Ibid, Iii, 280.
12. Ibid; Qazwīnī, 413a.
13. Lāhorī, Iii, 280; Qazwīnī, 413a.

with the title of Ghairat Khān and his *mansab* was raised to 1500/600.[1]

In the 10th R.Y. (1636) upon his appointment as Governor of Delhi Ghairat Khān's rank was enhanced to 2500/2000.[2] In 1638 he received a kettle-drum.[3] In the 12th R.Y. (1638-39) the task of the construction of the fort of Shāhjahānābād and *Nahr-i-Bihisht* canal was entrusted to him.[4] For four months and two days he laboured hard, whereafter he was transferred to Lahore as its castellan (*qiledār*).[5] He was a reputed scholar and was the author of *Ma'āsir-i-Jahāngiri*, a history of Jahāngīr's reign.

In September 1639 Ilahwardī Khān, an Irānī, was appointed Governor of Delhi.[6] He was the brother of Mukhlis Khān.[7] He had obtained the title of Muta'qid Khān under Jahāngir and had held the office of *qarāwal-Beg*.[8] After Jahāngir's dealth his rank was raised to 2000/2000 and the title of Ilahwardī Khān was bestowed upon him.[9]

In 1639, upon his appointment as Governor of Delhi Ilahwardī's rank was enhanced to 5000/5000.[10] During his Governorship he continued the construction of the fort of Shāhjahānābād.[11] He also built a *sarāi* and a garden at Delhi.[12]

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1. Lāhorī, II, 351-2
2. Ibid, III, 280; Qazwīnī, 413a. The latter gives the *mansab* 2500/2500.
3. Lāhorī, II, 96.
4. Ṣāliḥ, III, 29.
5. Lāhorī, II, 179, 198, Ṣāliḥ, III, 29. The latter says that he was transferred to Thatta as *ṣūbedār*.
6. Lāhorī, II, 158.
7. *Zakhīrat-ul-Khawānīn*, II, 205.
8. *MU*, II, 207.
9. Ibid, 208.
10. Lāhorī, II, 158.
11. Ṣāliḥ, III, 29.
12. *Zakhīrat-ul-Khawānīn*, II, 207.

He held the Governorship till the 15th R.Y. (1641-42) when he was sent to accompany Dārā Shukōh in his Qandahar expedition.[1]

Mulla Murshīd Mukramat Khān, another Irānī, was appointed Governor of Delhi in succession to Ilahwardī Khān.[2] In his early days he had served Mahābat Khān and later entered the service of Jahāngīr.[3] After the accession of Shāhjahān he received the title of Mukramat Khān and was appointed dīwān-i-biyūtāt with a mansab of 1000/200.[4] In the 10th R.Y. (1636-37) he was appointed mīr-i-sāmān.[5]

In September 1641 after his appointment as Governor of Delhi Mukramat Khān's mansab was raised to 3000/3000.[6] In 1642 his rank was raised to 3000/3000 2x3 with an enhancement of 500 sawārs 2x3.[7] The official historian commends him for having carried out duties as Governor of sūba of Delhi in a proper manner. In recognition of this, in 1645, he was, in addition, assigned the faujdārī and jāgīr of Mathura and Mahaban and his mansab was enhanced to 4000/4000 2x3.[8] It was during his term as Governor that the fort of Shāhjahānābād was completed.[9] He held the office of the Governor of sūba Delhi till his death in 1649.[10]

After the death of Mukramat Khān Jafar Khān, an Irānī, was appointed Governor of Delhi in 1649.[11] He was the

1. Khāfī Khān, I, 589, 594-95.
2. Lāhorī, II, 244.
3. MU, III, 460.
4. Lāhorī, Ii, 191.
5. Ibid, Iii, 243.
6. Ibid, II, 244.
7. Ibid, 319.
8. Ibid, 425-26.
9. Ṣāliḥ, III, 29.
10. Wāriṡ, 129, Ṣāliḥ, III, 104, Ṣādiq Khān, 83b.
11. Wāriṡ, 129; Ṣāliḥ, III, 104; Ṣādiq Khān, 83b.

son of Ṣādiq Khān, mīr-bakhshī.[1] In 1646 he was appointed mīr-bakhshī.[2] In 1649 upon his appointment as Governor of Delhi his manṣab was increased to 5000/5000 2x3.[3] In 1651 he was transferred to the Governorship of Thatta.[4]

Khalīlullāh Khān, another Irānī, succeeded Jafar Khān in 1651.[5] He was the son of Mīr Mīrān Yazdī and the younger brother of Aṣālat Khān, mīr-bakhshī.[6] Shāhjahān gave him the title of Khān in the 3rd R.Y. and he was appointed mīr-Tuzuk[7] In 1649 he was appointed bakhshī in place of Jafar Khān.[8] Upon his appointment as Governor of Delhi in 1651 his manṣab was increased to 4000/4000.[9] In 1653 he received another enhancement of 1000 ẓāt in his manṣab and he was then sent to accompany ʿAlī Mardān Khān to Kabul.[10] In 1655 he led an expedition against the ruler of Srinagar (Garhwal).[11] In 1658 his manṣab was made 5000/5000 2x3.[12] He continued to hold the Governorship of Delhi till the end of Shāhjahān's reign.[13] Khalīlullāh Khān completed the construction of Jamaʿ masjid during his tenure as Governor of Delhi.[14]

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1. Lāhorī, II, 538.
2. Ibid, II, 500.
3. Wāriṣ, 129. Wāriṣ says that he got an enhancement of 2000 sawār 2x3 while Ṣāliḥ (III, 104) mentions that he got an enhancement of 1000 sawār 2x3 and only in 1651 his manṣab was enhanced to 5000/5000 2x3 (III, 120).
4. Ṣāliḥ, III, 120.
5. Ibid.
6. Lāhorī, II, 73.
7. Ibid, 299.
8. Ṣāliḥ, III, 105.
9. Ibid, 120.
10. Ibid, 159.
11. Ibid, 205.
12. Ibid, 266.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid, 52.

After his accession, Aurangzeb appointed Mīr Zainuddīn Siyādat Khān of Irān as Governor of Delhi.[1] He was the brother of Islām Khān of Mashhad.[2] Shāhjahān had bestowed upon him the title of Siyādat Khān in the 11th R.Y. (1637-38).[3] In 1649-50 he was appointed commandant of the Agra fort.[4] Siyādat Khān held the Governorship of Delhi for a short time only since he died in the 2nd year (1659-60) of Aurangzeb's reign.[5] During his short span of one year as a Governor of Delhi his mansab was increased twice by 500/500 and of 1500/700, thereby reaching 5000/3200.[6]

After the death of Siyādat Khān, Mulla Shafia Dānishmand Khān Irānī was appointed Governor in 1660.[7] Shāhjahān had given him the title of Dānishmand Khān and appointed him 2nd bakhshī in 1655 with a mansab of 2500/600.[8] His mansab was latter increased to 3000/800 in 1657 and he was made mīr-bakhshī.[9] Bernier, who was employed by Dānishmand Khān, mentions his appointment as Governor of Delhi.[10] He puts him among the "most learned men of Asia, the most powerful and distinguished Omrahs."[11] He adds that on account of his studious habits and his heavy workload when he was appointed Governor he was exempted from the duty of paying his respects to the Emperor, twice a day.[12] He says "astronomy, geography and anatomy are his favourite pursuits and he reads with avidity the works of Gassendy and Descartes (which had been

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1. ʿĀlamgīrnāma, 129, 157, 161, 220, 346.

2. Lāhorī, Ii, 543.

3. Ibid, II, 90.

4. Ṣāliḥ, III, 111.

5. ʿĀlamgīrnāma, 418.

6. Ibid, 157, 334.

7. Ibid, 451.

8. Ṣāliḥ, III, 210.

9. Ibid, 244.

10. Bernier, 186.

11. Ibid, 4.

12. Ibid, 186.

translated for him by Bernier)".[1] Ṣāqī Mustaʿid Khān also says that he was one of the greatest scholars of his age and his life was devoted to charity and piety.[2]

We do not know when Dānishmand Khān was transferred from the Governorship of Delhi. Muḥammad Yār Khān, however, is found holding the Governorship of Delhi in 1661.[3] We do not know much about him for neither Lāhorī nor Muḥammad Kāẓim mention him. He was certainly different from Muḥammad Yār Khān, the son of ʿItiqād Khān, for the latter entered Aurangzeb's service only in 1669.[4] The present Muḥammad Yār Khān is first mentioned in the Akhbārāt as presenting his respects to the Emperor while he was the Governor.[5] In Sept. 1662 the Emperor ordered him to imprison Bhupat Prakāsh, zamīndār of Terai along with eight other persons and put them in the Salimgarh fortress. He was also directed to keep ʿAbdul Mōmin (already in prison) in the chabūtara kotwālī of Salimgarh.[6]

Hōshdār Khān Irānī succeeded Muḥammad Yār Khān in Dec. 1662.[7] He was the son of Multafat Khān.[8] At the end of Shāhjahān's reign he held the mansab of 900/400.[9] In 1658 Aurangzeb conferred on him the title of Khān and the office of the dārōgha of ghusalkhāna.[10] In 1662 his manṣab was raised to 4000/2800.[11] Upon his appointment as Governor of Delhi, he was presented with a horse decorated with gold and

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1. Ibid, 352-3.

2. Maʾāṣir, 105.

3. Akhbārāt, 9 Shawwāl & 7 Muḥarram, 4 R.Y./7 June and 2 Sept. 1661.

4. Maʾāṣir, 90.

5. Akhbārāt, 9 Shawwāl & 7 Muḥarram, 4 R.Y./7 June and 2 Sept. 1661.

6. Ibid, 13 Ṣafar, 5 R.Y./27 Sept. 1662.

7. ʿĀlamgīrnāma, 764.

8. Ṣāliḥ, III, 470.

9. Ibid.

10. ʿĀlamgīrnāma, 51, 127.

11. Ibid, 762.

an elephant with silver *howdah*. Along with the Governorship of Delhi he also held the *qiledārī* of Shāhjahānābād.[1] In Sept. 1663 he was transferred to Agra as Governor of that *sūba*.[2]

Ṣaif Khān, who was an Irānī, succeeded Hōshdār Khān.[3] In 1653 Shāhjahān had conferred the title of Khān on him.[4] In 1659 he was appointed *qiledār* of Delhi with a *manṣab* of 2000/1000.[5] In June, 1663 he was appointed Governor of Kashmir.[6] However, in Sept. 1663 he was appointed Governor and *qiledār* of Delhi.[7] But he could held the office of the Governor of Delhi only for a very short period (3 months). In Nov. 1663 he was again appointed Governor of Kashmir.[8]

There was no appointment of governor during Nov.1663-Feb. 1666, largely because the Emperor himself stayed at Delhi during this period.

In Feb. 1666 Dānishmand Khān was re-appointed Governor and *qiledār* of Delhi.[9] In 1666 when he was the Governor of Delhi, he had paid respects to the Emperor and presented him 51 *muhrs* and Rs.1000 in cash.[10] In 1667 he was appointed *mīr-bakhshī* for two years.[11] The Emperor himself stayed at Delhi during 1667-69[12], and the office of Governor remained in abeyance. But when the Emperor left Delhi in the 12th R.Y.

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1. Ibid, 764.

2. Ibid, 839.

3. Ibid.

4. Ṣāliḥ, III, 175.

5. *'Ālamgīrnāma*, 292.

6. Ibid, 832.

7. Ibid, 839.

8. Ibid, 843.

9. Ibid, 937.

10. *Akhbārāt*, 6 Jumādī-ul-Awwal, 9 R.Y./4 Nov. 1666.

11. *'Ālamgīrnāma*, 1067, *Ma'āsir*, 64.

12. *Ma'āsir*, 56, 91-92.

(1669) he was restored to the Governorship of Delhi, with the concurrent office of mīr-bakhshī. He held the Governorship of Delhi till his death in the 13th R.Y. (1670).[1]

The next Governor was Nāmdār Khān, another Irānī, who succeeded Dānishmand Khān.[2] He was the son of Jafar Khān[3]. He entered Shāhjahān's service in the 19th R.Y. (1645-46) with a mansab of 500/400.[4] In the 12th year of Aurangzeb's reign (1669-70) he held the faujdārī of Moradabad.[5] He held the Governorship of Delhi for one year only (till 1671) since in the 14th R.Y. (1671) Emperor himself took his seat at Delhi. Nāmdār Khān was then transferred to Agra as sūbedār.[6]

Aurangzeb stayed on in Delhi till the 16th R.Y. (1673-74)[7] and there was no Governor appointed during this period.

In the 17th R.Y. (1674) Ṣaif Khān was appointed Governor of Delhi for the second time.[8] He is mentioned as being in office also in the 18th R.Y. (1675)[9]. During his tenure as Governor of Delhi he, along with other officers arranged the burial in Delhi of Purhunār Bānō Begum, the eldest daughter of Shāhjahān.[10] We do not know of his next appointment. However, in the 21st R.Y. (1678) he accompanied Prince Akbar to Multan.[11]

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1. Ibid, 105.

2. Ibid.

3. Lāhorī, II, 500.

4. Ibid.

5. Maʼāṣir, 92.

6. Ibid, 112.

7. Ibid, 132.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid, 147.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid, 167.

From the 19th R.Y. (1675-76) to the 22nd R.Y. (1678-79) the Emperor was again at Delhi and no Governor was appointed.[1] For the 23rd R.Y. (1679-80) we do not have any information.

In the 24th R.Y. (1680) Mīr Askarī ʿĀqil Khān Irānī was appointed Governor of Delhi.[2] After Aurangzeb's accession he came to the court and obtained the title of ʿĀqil Khān and held the faujdārī of the Doāb.[3] He held the office of 2nd bakhshī in the 23rd R.Y. (1679-80).[4]

During his tenure as Governor of Delhi in the 25th R.Y. (1681) ʿĀqil Khān paid his respects to the Emperor and he did so again in the 36th R.Y. (1692).[5] In the latter year he was ordered to bring Muḥammad Hayāt, a neo Muslim and qānūngo of pargana Baran to the Emperor.[6] In the 37th R.Y. (1693) he sent four horses through Salābat Khān to the Emperor as peshkash.[7] In the 38th R.Y. (1694) he had the honour of attending on the Emperor twice.[8] In 1694 he also sent the Emperor a box full of scent (itr).[9] In 1696 he again attended the Emperor.[10] In the 40th R.Y. (1696) he was ordered to send the treasure (khazāna) of Delhi to the Emperor through Sādāt Khan.[11] He died the same year while holding the Governorship of Delhi.[12] Sāqī Mustaʿid Khān commends him

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1. Ibid, 154, 180.

2. Ibid, 195.

3. ʿĀlamgīrnāma, 44.

4. Maʿāṣir, 195.

5. Akhbārāt, 10 Zaī-ul-Ḥijja, 25 R.Y./21 Dec.1681, 10 Ṣafar, 36 R.Y./21 Oct. 1692.

6. Ibid, 22 Ṣafar, 36 R.Y./2 Nov., 1692.

7. Ibid, 8 Ramzān, 37 R.Y./13 May, 1693.

8. Ibid, 18 Shawwāl, and 8 Rabīʿ-ul-Ṣānī, 38 R.Y./12 June, 26 Nov. 1694.

9. Ibid, 24 Zaī-ul-Ḥijja, 38 R.Y./16 Aug. 1694.

10. Ibid, 8 Rajab, 39 R.Y./12 Feb. 1696.

11. Ibid, 10 Zaī-ul-Qadah, 40 R.Y./11 June, 1696.

12. Maʿāṣir, 383.

saying that "he was endowed with asceticism, freedom of spirit, independence (of wordly possessions) and control of mind."[1] He was a good poet. His pen name was 'Rāẓī' and he wrote several poems and masnavis. He considered himself capable in solving the minutest problems of the masnavī of Maulana Rūmī.[2]

After the death of ʿAqil Khān the Governorship of Delhi was entrusted to Muḥammad Yār Khān another Irānī.[3] He was the son of Mirza Bahman Yār Itiqad Khan. He entered Aurangzeb's service in the 12th R.Y. (1669) with a mansab of 400 zāt.[4] In 1692 his rank was enhanced to 2000 zāt.[5] When in the 40th R.Y. (1696) he was appointed Governor of Delhi his rank was enhanced to 3000/3000.[6]

Like his predecessor he too held a long tenure as Governor. In 1699 Muḥammad Yār Khān reported to the Emperor that the faujdārs of Sirhind and Mewat, whom he had written to help the faujdār of Hissār against the rebels, were defying his orders. He requested the Emperor to order bakhshī-ul-mulk Mukhlis Khān to warn them.[7] In the 44th R.Y. (1699) he went to the Deccan to attend on the Emperor.[8] In the same year his rank was raised to 3000/1500 (2x3) and he got 40 lakhs of dāms as inʿām.[9] In 1701 the Emperor ordered him to keep Khwāja Mūsa under surveillance.[10] On 21 March 1702 because of his illness, he was replaced by Mukhtār Khān Irānī Upon his removal, his mansab (3000/1500 700 2x3) was resumed, but he was allowed to hold his titles and a pension of Rs.30,000 yearly.[11]

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1. Ibid, 383.

2. Ibid, 384.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid, 90.

5. Ibid, 350.

6. Ibid, 384.

7. Akhbārāt, 22 Ṣafar, 43 R.Y./19 Aug. 1699.

8. Ibid, 4 Jumādi-ul- Awwal and 17 Rajab/28 Oct. 1669 and 9 Jan. 1700.

9. Ibid, 3 Jumādī-ul-Ṣānī, 44 R.Y./26 Nov. 1669.

10. Ibid, 17 Zaī-ul-Qadah, 45 R.Y./25 April, 1701.

11. Ibid, 21 & 25 Shawwāl, 46 R.Y./21 & 25 March, 1702.

The mansab of Mukhtār Khān was enhanced by 500/81 to 2500/581 upon his appointment as Governor.[1] But he could held the office for a few day only (21st March-28th March 1702).[2] On 28th March 1702 Fidāī Khān is mentioned as sūbedār of Delhi.[3] But he also held the Governorship for a short period only, as he died on 18 Nov. 1702.[4]

In the same year (24 Nov. 1702) Muhammad Yār Khān was reinstated and in addition to the Governorship, the faujdārī of Moradabad was also entrusted to him. His mansab was raised to 3500/3000. Besides, a kettle-drum was presented to him and an in'ām of 40 lakhs of dāms was assigned to him.[5] In 1703 the chief of Mewat, who had revolted against the imperial authority, was sent to Muhammad yār Khān.[6] In 1704, when Mīr 'Ajam ahadi was sent to bring some medicines from Kairana for the Emperor, Muhammad Yār Khān was asked to assist him in the task.[7] The same year he was ordered to deal with the disturbances raised by one Sayyid Hasan in Saharanpur.[8] He continued to hold the Governorship of Delhi till the death of Aurangzeb (1707).[9] The Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā' says that Muhammad Yār Khān was very rich and the owner of many houses and shops in Delhi from which he realized considerable rents.[10]

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1. Ibid, 25 Shawwāl, 46 R.Y./25 March 1702.
2. Ibid, 21, 25 & 28 Shawwāl, 46 R.Y./21, 25 & 28 March 1702.
3. Ibid, 28 Shawwāl, 46 R.Y./28 March, 1702.
4. Ibid, 27 Jumādi-ul-Sānī, 46 R.Y./18 Nov. 1702.
5. Ibid, 4, 9, 29 Rajab, 46 R.Y./24, 27 Nov. 19 Dec., 1702, Ma'āsir, 462.
6. Akhbārāt, 17 Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 47 R.Y./28 Oct. 1703.
7. Ibid, 1 Rabī'-ul-Sānī, 48 R.Y./3 Aug. 1704.
8. Ibid, 9 Jumādi-ul-Awwal, 48 R.Y./9 Sept. 1704.
9. Ibid, 23 Shawwāl, 51 R.Y./28 Jan. 1707.
10. MU, III, 711.

Chapter 8b

OTHER OFFICERS

1. Faujdārs:

It is generally accepted that the faujdār was the executive head in the sarkār[1]. However, Moreland puts foreward the hypothesis that the sarkār signified a basically fiscal division, while the faujdār's jurisdiction had different limits generally larger than a sarkār. These jurisdictions, he thought, were those given in a list by Roe.[2] P. Saran took issue with Moreland and argued that there was no such distinction.[3]

Within the Delhi province as many as six sarkārs, viz. Sirhind, Badāūn, Saharanpur, Rewari, Hissār-Fīrūza and Kumāūn do not appear in Roe's list, while Delhi and Sambhal, do.[4] Moreland prepared a list of the faujdārī jurisdictions from Persian texts which came in all to sixty. He includes among such jurisdictions the following

1. J.N. Sarkar, Mughal Administration; P. Saran, The Provincial Government of the Mughals; Aniruddha Ray, Some Aspects of Mughal Administration.

2. W.H. Moreland, "The Kingdoms and Provinces subject to the Great Mogoll", JIH (Madras), vol. VI pt. II, 149-159.

3. P. Saran, 90.

4. Roe, Purchas, IV, 432.

within _sūba_ Delhi: Delhi, Sambhal, Hissār, Doāb and Sirhind. _Sarkārs_ of Badāūn and Rewari are still excluded.[1] We have no explicit reference in Persian sources to fixed _faujdārī_ jurisdictions. We have two references from Aurangzeb's reign to a _faujdār_ of a particular _sarkār_, who at the same time held the _faujdārī_ of certain other _parganas_ as well. Shukr ullāh Khān held the _faujdārī_ of Mewat as well as of _pargana_ Patodi.[2] In the 43rd R.Y. Zain-uddīn Aḥmad is mentioned as _faujdār_ of Shāhjahānābād; he was also granted _faujdārī_ of _pargana_ Baroda in _sarkār_ Nārnaul.[3]

Besides, we come across some references when in a particular _sarkār_ more than one _faujdār_ was appointed. Saran has also pointed out such cases.[4] In the 3rd R.Y. of Aurangzeb Zainuddīn Aḥmad Khān is mentioned as _faujdār_ of Sirhind.[5] In the same year, the _Akhbārāt_ mention Muḥammad Askarī as _faujdār_ in the same _sarkār_.[6] In the 39th R.Y. of Aurangzeb ʻAzīzullāh held the _faujdārī_ of Banor (_sarkār_

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1. Moreland, _JIH_, VIII, 154-159.
2. _Akhbārāt_, 4 Ramẓān and 13 Jumādī-ul-Ṣānī, 38 R.Y./29 April 1694 and 29 Jan. 1695.
3. Ibid, 12 Rajab, 43 R.Y./3 Jan.1700.
4. P. Saran, 90.
5. _Akhbārāt_, 13 Rabīʻ-ul-Ṣānī, 21 Shʻabān 3 R.Y./16 Dec. 1660 and 21 April 1661.
6. Ibid, 17 Zaī-ul Qadah, 3 R.Y./25 July, 1660.

Sirhind) while the *faujdārī* of *sarkār* Sirhind was under Kār Ṭalab Khān.[1]

Faujdārs were also appointed to particular *parganas*. ʿInāyat ullāh is mentioned as *faujdār* of *pargana* Bairat Singhana.[2] Muḥammad Ḥādī was appointed *faujdār* and *jāgīrdār* of *pargana* Chandpur (*sarkār* Sambhal).[3] In 47 R.Y. Sayyid Khān got the *faujdārī* and *jāgīrdārī* of *pargana* Dewah in *sarkār* Sambhal.[4] Besides, Sayyid Ḥidāyāt ullāh held the *faujdārī* of *dāman-i-Sonepat* (*sarkār* Delhi).[5]

Arguing against Moreland's P. Saran says, "it is, of course, beyond question that the *faujdārī* area would rarely have comprised two full *sarkārs*".[6] However, we have evidence to suggest that at times a particular *faujdār* managed the *faujdārī* of two and more *sarkārs*. During Shāhjahān's reign (in 5 R.Y.) Ṭarbīyat Khān held the *faujdārī* of *sarkārs* Hissār and Sirhind simultaneously.[7]

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1. Ibid, 26, 28 Rabīʿ-ul Ṡānī and 24 Shaʿbān, 39 R.Y./4,6 Dec. 1695 and 29 March 1696.

2. Ibid, 6 Zaī-ul-Ḥijja, 39 R.Y./18 July, 1695.

3. Ibid, 9 Jumādī-ul Ṡānī, 48 R.Y./9 Oct. 1704.

4. Ibid, 25 Ṣafar, 47 R.Y./10 July, 1703.

5. Ibid, 12 Zaī-ul-Ḥijja, 49 R.Y./7 April, 1705.

6. P. Saran, 90.

7. Lāhorī, II, 431.

Under Aurangzeb, Wazīr Khān (43 R.Y.) held the faujdārī of Sirhind and Hissār[1], Bāqī Khān (44 R.Y.) the faujdārī of Mewat and Bairat Singhana;[2] Shakir Khān (47 R.Y.) that of Saharanpur and Shāhjahānābād[3]; Wazīr Khān (46 R.Y.), of Hissār and Sirhind[4] and Shukr-ullāh Khān (47 R.Y.), of Saharanpur together with the environs of Delhi.[5]

Not only one faujdār is mentioned as holding the faujdārī of two different sarkārs within a ṣūba, but we have also reference to a faujdār holding jurisdiction over two different sarkārs in different ṣūbas. During Shāhjahān's reign (in 1650) Sher Khwāja held the faujdārī of chakla Saharanpur (ṣūba Delhi) and Meṛta (ṣūba Ajmer) simultaneously.[6] In 21 R.Y. of Shāhjahān Rāja Todar Mal simultaneously held faujdārī jurisdictions over as many as four sarkārs: Sirhind (ṣūba Delhi), Dipālpūr (ṣūba Multan), Jallandhar and Sulṭānpūr (ṣuba Lahore).[7]

1. Akhbārāt, 22 Jumādī-ul-Awwal and 10 Jumādī-ul-Ṣānī, 43 R.Y./15 Nov. and 3 Dec. 1699.
2. Ibid, 1 Sh'abān, 44 R.Y./11 Jan. 1701.
3. Ibid, 13 Ramẓān, 47 R.Y./31 Jan. 1703.
4. Ibid, 23 Jumādī-ul-Awwal, 46 R.Y./15 Oct. 1702.
5. Ibid, 4 Shawwāl, 47 R.Y./21 Feb. 1703.
6. Wāris, 133.
7. Ṣāliḥ, III, 7.

From Shāhjahān's reign onwards we also frequently meet with faujdārs of different chaklas, the chakla being a division instituted during Shāhjahān's reign. It is difficult to say whether sarkār and chaklas served the same purpose. Our Persian texts frequently mention same person as faujdār of a particular sarkār as well as of a particular chakla of the same name. During Shāhjahān's reign Rāja Todar Mal is mentioned as faujdār of sarkār Sirhind in 13 R.Y.[1] In 14 and 15 R.Y. he is mentioned as faujdār of chakla Sirhind.[2] In 16 R.Y. he re-appears as faujdār of sarkār Sirhind.[3] During Aurangzeb's reign, in 4 R.Y. Mīr Khān is mentioned as faujdār of chakla Mewat (29 Zaī-ul-Ḥijja).[4] In the same year (16 Muḥarram) he is designated faujdār of Mewat.[5]

There are, however, cases where a faujdār of a chakla and of a sarkār is mentioned separately. In 5 R.Y. of Shāhjahān Ṭarbīyat Khān is mentioned as faujdār of sarkār Hissār while Kripā Rām Gaur held the faujdārī of

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1. Lāhorī, II, 206.
2. Ibid, 236, 247.
3. Ibid, 319.
4. Akhbārāt, 29 Zaī-ul-Ḥijja, 4 R.Y./25 Aug. 1661.
5. Ibid, 16 Muḥarram, 4 R.Y./11 Sept. 1661.

chakla Hissār.[1] We frequently meet with faujdārs of sarkār Sambhal and as well as of Moradabad (which was within sarkār Sambhal)[2] but in the absence of a complete list it is difficult to say whether separate faujdārs for Sambhal and Moradabad were appointed simultaneously. But, for sarkār Delhi and chakla Sikandarabad (falling within sarkār Delhi) we clearly find simultaneous appointments of different persons.[3]

The faujdār was mainly responsible for the maintenance of law and order and at times helped the revenue officials in realization of revenue. We find many cases when the office of amin was combined with that of faujdār.[4] Besides, a faujdār also sometimes held the offices of qiledār, kotwāl, dārōgha, bakhshī and waqāi-navīs.[5] There are also a few instances when a faujdār also held dīwānī rights. During Shāhjahān's reign (5 R.Y.) Kāshīdās and later Dayānat Khān held the faujdārī, dīwānī and amīnī of sarkār Sirhind.[6] In 12 R.Y. of Shāhjahān Mu'izzul Mulk held the faujdārī,

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1. Lāhorī, Ii, 431, 432.
2. See Appendix.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Lāhorī, Ii, 432-33, Iii, 8-9; Qazwīnī, 306a.

diwānī and aminī of Sirhind when he was transferred to Surat (as ṣūbedār).[1] Rāja Todar Mal, who was faujdār of Sirhind from 13 to 21 R.Y. of Shāhjahān, also held the diwānī and aminī of the above mentioned sarkār.[2] In 21 R.Y. his diwānī, faujdārī and aminī rights were extended over the sarkārs of Dipālpūr, Jalandhar and Sulṭānpūr outside the ṣūba of Delhi.[3] In 28 R.Y. of Aurangzeb, Ṣāliḥ Khān was appointed diwān and faujdār of Bareilly.[4] In 38 R.Y. (of Aurangzeb) Muḥammad Fāẓil was appointed faujdār, amīn and diwān of chakla Bareilly.[5] Similarly, Wazīr Khān held the diwānī and faujdārī of sarkār Sirhind and Hissār in 46 R.Y. of Aurangzeb.[6]

2. Judicial & Quasi-judicial officials :

The qāẓī was the judge appointed for each locality or town. There were also separate qāẓīs for the army known

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1. Lāhorī, II, 116-117.
2. Ibid, 206, 236, 247, 319; Ṣāliḥ, III, 7.
3. Ṣāliḥ, III, 7.
4. Ma'āṣir, 247.
5. Akhbārāt, 25 Zaī-ul-Qadah, 38 R.Y./18 July, 1694.
6. Ibid, 23 Jumādī-ul-Awwal, 46 R.Y./15 Oct. 1702.

qāẓī-i-Urdū.[1] The appointment was made by the Emperor, but, though theological qualifications were called for, a son often succeeded father. In the 19th R.Y. of Aurangzeb, Qāẓī ʿAbdul Wahāb, who was the qazi of Delhi came to the court and got his father's post of qāẓī-i-lashkar.[2] The family of Qāẓī Muḥammad Ḥusain of Maham held the office reputedly from the time of Kaikūbād and Bughrā Khān (686 AH/1287-88) down till 1836.[3]

The qāẓīs of important places were enrolled as mansabdārs. Qāẓī Khushhāl, qāẓī of Shāhjahānābād held the mansab of 500 ẓāt [4]; Darvesh Muḥammad, qāẓī of Delhi, of 400 ẓāt[5]; and Muḥammad Ṣādiq, qāẓī of Shāhjahānābād, of 100 ẓāt.[6] The Mirʾāt-i-Aḥmadī mentions in respect of Gujarat that apart from the personal ẓāt/sawār rank of a qāẓī, 20 mashrūt sawārs could be alloted for the qāẓī of a town.[7] This is corroborated by evidence from ṣūba Delhi, where we

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1. Maʾāṣir, 148, 239, 393, 514.
2. Ibid, 148.
3. Maʾāṣir-ul-Ajdād, 479.
4. Ṣāliḥ, III, 114.
5. Akhbārāt, 9 Rajab, 3 R.Y./10 March, 1661.
6. Ibid, 1 Ṣafar, 48 R.Y./5 June, 1704.
7. ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān Bahādur, Mirʾāt-i-Aḥmadī, ed. Syed Nawab Ali, Baroda, 1930, Supplement, p.174.

find similarly low ranks of *sawār* held by *qāẓis*. Niẓāmuddīn, *qāẓī* of Shāhjahānābād and Qāẓī Ḥayātī of Mewat held the *manṣab* of 100/10 and 100/20 respectively.[1]

Besides the pay for *manṣab*, the *qāẓis* were usually remunerated through *madad-i-ma'āsh* grants.[2] In such cases these grants were often *mashrūṭ* i.e. revokable after their dismissal from the post. Qāẓī 'Abdul Wahāb obtained a *madad-i-ma'āsh* grant of 1403 *bīghas* in Maham. A daily allowance of 1 *tanka* (*murādī*) from the *jiziya* was also given to him.[3] In 981 AH/1573-74 AD. Qāẓī Ashraf and others received a grant of 395 *bīghas* in Maham.[4] Qāẓī Alhadiah, along with his sons got a *madad-i-ma'āsh* grant of 300 *bīghas* in *pargana* Amroha, *sarkār* Sambhal.[5] Shaikh 'Abdul Ḥafiẓ, on being appointed *qāẓī* of *pargana* Mangalpur in *sarkār* Saharanpur and Faiẓābād, received a *madad-i-ma'āsh* grant of 200 *bīghas* in the same *pargana*.[6] Sayyid Muḥammad Naqī got a grant of 40 *bīghas* in *sarkār* Sambhal for his office of *qāẓī*.[7]

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1. *Akhbārāt*, 2 Jumādi-ul Sānī, 46 R.Y./24 Oct. 1702; 20 Zai-ul-Qadah, 47 R.Y./7 April, 1703.

2. *Agrarian System*, 311; Rafat M. Bilgrami, *Religious and Quasi Religious Departments of the Mughal Period* (1556-1707), Delhi, 1984, pp.129-30.

3. *Ma'āṣir-ul-Ajdād*, 481-82.

4. Ibid.

5. *Sambhal Documents*, Department of History, A.M.U., D.no.9.

6. Malikzāda, *Nigārnāma-i-Munshī*, Ms. in the Department of History, Aligarh, 106b-107a; see also Nawal Kishore ed., 122.

7. Bekas, 73-74.

The appointment letter of a qāẓī generally contains a long list of duties which a qāẓī was supposed to perform. He was to judge cases and pass judgements; distribute and divide the inheritance (of property etc.) and legacies according to Islāmic law; to lead the Friday prayers; and to appoint waṣī (guardians) for the inheritance of minors. He or his deputies performed nikāh (marriage ceremonies). The qāẓī was also the attesting officer[1], copies of documents were attested by him, with his seal and the endorsement:" The copy is according to the original".[2] He had the right to appoint deputies.[3]

Bernier gives a critical description of the working of qāẓīs under the Mughals. "If the party really in the wrong had possessed the means of putting a couple of crowns into the hands of the kadi or his clerks, and of buying with the same sum two false witnesses, he would indisputably have gained his cause, or prolonged it as long as he pleased."[4]

Under the Mughals the qāẓīs did not have sufficient power to protect people against the oppression of governors

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1. Ibid, 73-74; Nigārnāma, 106b-107a.Nawal Kishore ed., 122.

2. The same sources as well as those of preceding footnote; also Maāṣir-ul-Ajdād, 481-83, 529-30.

3. Bekas, 74.

4. Bernier, 238.

over peasantry. "The kadis or judges", says Bernier "are not invested with sufficient power to redress the wrongs of these unhappy people".[1]

The ṣadr was another important religious officer in the ṣūba.[2] He was appointed in each ṣūba, sarkār and chakla. During Akbar's reign (989/1581-82) 'Abū'l Fatḥ held the office of ṣadr of Delhi, Malwa and Gujarat ṣūbas simultaneously.[3] Under Aurangzeb Mīr 'Aiwāẓ, Mullāh Ma'ālī, 'Abdul Ḥaq etc. held the office of ṣadr of ṣūba Shāhjahānābād.[4] Khwāja Ibrāhīm was the ṣadr of chakla Sirhind[5]. Ashfāq-ul-Rasūl was the ṣadr of sarkār Saharanpur.[6]

The ṣadrs were enrolled as manṣabdārs. Mīr 'Aiwāẓ, ṣadr of ṣūba Delhi, held the manṣab of 400/10;[7] Mullā Ma'ālī, 500 ẕāt[8]; and Shaikh 'Abdul Ḥaq, 600/30.[9] Besides cash salary,

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1. Ibid, 225.
2. For further details see P. Saran, 158, 328-9; S.R.Sharma, Mughal Government and Administration, Bombay, 1951, 49-52; Rafat Bilgrami, Chapters I, II, III.
3. AN, III, 372.
4. Akhbārāt, 24 Ṣafar, 44 R.Y./10 Aug, 1700; 27 Muḥarram, 47 R.Y./12 June, 1703; 13 Ramẓān, 49 R.Y./9 Jan. 1705.
5. Ibid, 22 Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 47 R.Y./5 Aug. 1703.
6. Ibid, 20 Rabī'-ul-Sānī, 47 R.Y./2 Sept. 1703.
7. Ibid, 24 Ṣafar, 44 R.Y./10 Aug. 1700.
8. Ibid, 27 Muḥarram, 47 R.Y./12 June, 1703.
9. Ibid, 13 Ramẓān, 49 R.Y./9 Jan. 1705.

sadrs were also paid in the form of land-assignments.[1]

The main duty of the sadr was to grant madad-i-ma'āsh. He was to check the authenticity of the deeds (sanads) of grant, and to verify whether the grantee was alive or really deserved the grant. He was to scrutinize whether a grantee should not held any other land or cash grant. In case of forgery the sadr had the right to confiscate that document and give it over to the dīwān-i-khālisa. A sadr could suggest the enhancement of the grants of such persons as had small grants but large expenses. But if a person held a larger grant than was needed to meet his expenses, the sadr had the right to take away the excess grant and recommend that it to be given to other deserving persons. Each grantee was supposed to bring his sanad every year to the sadr for renewal. The sadr recommended appointment of qāzīs (ahkām-i-shara') and dismissal of such as were irreligious. The sadrs, finally, were asked to refrain from taking bribes.[2]

Another important official was the muhtasib. It was Aurangzeb who started regular appointment of muhtasibs.[3]

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1. Bekas, 71-73.

2. Ibid.

3. Rafat Bilgrami, 172.

The *muḥtasib* was appointed in towns and *sarkārs*.[1] During Aurangzeb's reign Ghiyāsuddīn, Muḥammad ʻĀqil, Shaikh ʻAbdul Ḥaq, Muḥammad Ḥusain and Nizāmuddīn are known to have held the office of *muḥtasib* of Shāhjahānābād (Delhi).[2] The family of Shaikh ʻAbdullāh, *muḥtasib* of *pargana* Maham held the hereditary right to hold the office in the *pargana*.[3]

The *muḥtasib* performed both, religious and secular duties. He enforced the prohibition of wine, drugs and other intoxicants. He was to insist on the performance of the prescribed Muslim fasts and prayers and to prevent religious "innovations". Among his secular duties was to check fraud in weights and measures. The price-list current (*nirkh-nāma*) of different commodities was certified under the seal of *muḥtasib*.[4]

There are two references to the appointment of a *muftī* at Shāhjahānābād.[5] The *muftīs* were scholars whose opinions on matters of law were held to be authoritative.

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1. Ibid, 172-73.

2. *Akhbārāt*, 9 Muḥarram, 46 R.Y./5 June 1702; 14 & 22 Ramẓān, 49 R.Y./10 & 18 Jan. 1705.

3. *Maʼāṣir-ul-Ajdād*, 27-29.

4. Bekas, 75.

5. *Akhbārāt*, 18 Rabīʻ-ul-Awwal, 47 R.Y./1 Aug. 1703, *Maʼāṣir*, 393.

Possibly, they were maintained by land-grants.

3. Castellans and Kotwāls :

In its statistical tables for ṣūba Delhi, the Āʾīn records 48 forts of which five (Islāmābād Pakal, Harsia (sarkār Delhi), Suhna, Nimrana (sarkār Rewari) and Hissār (sarkār Hissār Fīrūza) were built of stone, the rest being of bricks.[1] The sarkār Delhi alone contained 17 forts, while sarkār Saharanpur had 6, sarkār Hissār Fīrūza 9, Sirhind 10, Rewari 4 and the sarkārs of Badāūn and Sambhal one each.[2] The Āʾīn, however, does not mention the forts of Delhi and Salimgarh. Later, during Shāhjahān's reign the Red Fort was built at Delhi (Shāhjahānābād), and a fort at Mukhliṣpūr.[3] There is a reference to a castellan at Muẓaffarnagar under Aurangzeb.[4]

During Shāhjahān's reign, with the inclusion of Nārnaul and Tijāra sarkārs in the ṣūba, the number of forts in the Delhi ṣūba increased from 48 to 62: Nārnaul sarkār possessed 8 and Tijāra 6 forts.[5] Out of the 8 forts mentioned

1. Āʾīn, I, 518 et passim.

2. Ibid.

3. Ṣāliḥ, III, 29, 190, 237.

4. Akhbārāt, 19 Rabīʿ-ul-Ṣānī, 38 R.Y./7 Dec. 1694.

5. Probably this fort was built during Shāhjahān's reign since Muẓaffarnagar was founded by the son of Muẓaffar Khān Khānjahān in 1633 (Nevill, III (Muzaffarnagar), 295).

under *sarkār* Nārnaul in the *Āʾīn* five were of stone while *sarkār* Tijāra had 3 stone forts.[1]

In each fort a *qiledār* or castellan used to be placed. Sometimes there was a separate *qiledār* for the fort and for the (walled?) city and sometimes the offices were combined. During Shāhjahān's reign (30 R.Y.) Siyādat Khān held the *qiledārī* of the palace of Shāhjahānābād as well as that of Shāhjahānābād (city).[2] During Aurangzeb's reign (I R.Y.) Murād Bakhsh held the *qiledārī* of the fort of Shāhjahānābād while Amīr Khān was the *qiledār* of Shāhjahānābād (city).[3]

A *qiledār* may also hold other offices simultaneously. During Aurangzeb's reign (1662-63) Hoshdār Khān was the Governor, holding the office of *qiledār* of Shāhjahānābād.[4] Dānishmand Khān (1670) was the *qiledār*, *nāẓim* and *mīr-bakhshī* of Shāhjahānābād.[5] Muḥammad Ashraf (1694-95) was appointed *faujdār* and *qiledār* of Moradabad.[6] Muḥammad Beg held the

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1. *Āʾīn*, I, 453-54.
2. Ṣāliḥ, III, 237, 241.
3. Maʿmūrī, 106b; *ʿĀlamgīrnāma*, 142.
4. *ʿĀlamgīrnāma*, 764.
5. *Maʾāṣir*, 105.
6. *Akhbārāt*, 27 Shawwāl, 38 R.Y./21 June, 1694.

qiledārī and faujdārī of Muzaffarnagar.[1] In 46 R.Y. of Aurangzeb Muḥammad Yār Khān held the faujdārī of Moradabad and ṣūbedārī and qiledārī of Shāhjahānābād simultaneously.[2]

The kotwāl was the chief of the city police.[3] He sometimes held other offices. Muḥammad Amīn, the kotwāl of Shāhjahānābād (36 R.Y. of Aurangzeb), for example, was also the qiladār of Shāhjahānābād.[4] In 37 R.Y. of Aurangzeb Faujdār Khān was the kotwāl and faujdār of Shāhjahānābād.[5] Bāqī Khān (38 R.Y.) held the faujdārī and kotwālī of Shāhjahānābād.[6] Sayyid Qāsim who was the kotwāl of Shāhjahānābād also held the amīnī and faujdārī of Bairat Singhana.[7] Later in 47 R.Y. the Emperor also entrusted him with the office of karōra sāyar (collector of market dues) of Shāhjahānābād.[8] Mīr ʿAbdul Islām in 47 R.Y. of Aurangzeb is described as the kotwāl and karōra sāyar of Shāhjahānābād.[9]

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1. Ibid, 19 Rabīʿ-ul-Ṣānī, 38 R.Y./ 7 Dec. 1694.
2. Ibid, 29 Jumādī-ul-Ṣānī, 46 R.Y./20 Nov. 1702.
3. Sarkar, 57; P. Saran, 332-4.
4. Akhbārāt, 21 Rabīʿ-ul-Awwal, 36 R.Y./30 Nov.1692.
5. Ibid, 23 Shʿabān, 37 R.Y./19 April 1694.
6. Ibid, 28 Rabīʿ-ul-Awwal/17 Nov. 1694.
7. Ibid, 6 Shawwāl, 47 R.Y./23 Feb. 1703.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid, 3 Muḥarram, 47 R.Y./19 May, 1703.

The kotwāl was assigned certain mashrūt or conditional ranks attached to his office. However, the grant of mashrūt rank was never the same for different incumbents of the same office. In 47 R.Y. upon his appointment kotwāl and karōra sāyar Shāhjahānābād, obtained 80 sawār mashrūt.[1] In 48 R.Y., when Sayyid Ashraf was appointed kotwāl of Shāhjahānābād he was allowed 100 sawār, mashrūt.[2]

The powers of the kotwāl have been discussed by Sarkar and Saran.[3] He could detain criminals. In 48 R.Y. of Aurangzeb Sarbarah Khān, kotwāl of Shāhjahānābād was ordered to detain Chaturbuj, assistant in the dīwānī and Chaudhrī of Sarrāfa along with all the sarrāfs of the palace-market in the chabūtara of kotwālī.[4] A kotwāl was also obliged to assist government officials in sequestration of properties. The Akhbārāt contain orders that khwāja Maḥram Khān, who was appointed to seize the property of the deseased, should obtain help from Zulfiqār Beg, kotwāl of Shāhjahānābād.[5]

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1. Ibid, 3 Muḥarram, 47 R.Y./19 May, 1703.
2. Ibid, 14 Rabī'-ul-Sānī, 48 R.Y./16 Aug. 1704.
3. Sarkar, 57-60, P.Saran, 332-34.
4. Akhbārāt, 4 Jumādī-ul-Awwal, 48 R.Y./4 Sept. 1704.
5. Ibid, 13 Shabān, 44 R.Y./23 Jan. 1701.

The kotwāl was assigned the duty of clearing the way for the Emperor. In 1647-48 when Shāhjahān marched from Karnal to Delhi, Muẓaffar Ḥusain, kotwāl of Delhi, was ordered to go forward, clear the road for the Imperial camp and make arrangements for the Imperial hunt.[1]

When Mīr ʿAbdul Islām was offered the office of the kotwāl of Shāhjahānābād, he put forward certain conditions: that his brother might also be appointed along with him; that he be granted exemption from branding of the mashrūṭ sawārs; that in the chabūtara kotwālī the existing 400 aḥadīs and piyādas be dismissed and others appointed by him. All his demands were accepted by the Emperor. However, when he also demanded that no person be allowed to complain against him directly to the Emperor, this was refused.[2]

To perform such duties a kotwāl had to maintain a certain amount of troops. There were 400 aḥadīs and piyādas in the chabūtara kotwālī of Shāhjahānābād as we have just seen.[3]

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1. Wāriṣ, 28.

2. Akhbārāt, 15 Muḥarram, 47 R.Y./31 May, 1703.

3. Ibid.

4. Intelligencers

Another important official in the province was the waqā'ī-navīs (or waqā'ī-nigār) who directly sent his reports to the Emperor.[1] In most cases the offices of bakhshī and waqā'ī-navīs were combined.[2] In 44 R.Y. of Aurangzeb, Sayyid Bakhshī, who was the bakhshī and waqā'ī-navīs of the sūba also held the faujdārī of Shāhjahānābād[3]. Mīr Karamullāh was the bakhshī and waqā'ī-navīs of sūba Shāhjahānābād.[4] But smaller jurisdictions also occur. Muḥammad Khān was the bakhshī and waqā'ī-navīs of sarkār Shāhjahānābād.[5] Mīr Na'imat held the office of bakhshī and waqā'ī-navīs of chakla Moradabad,[6] and Muḥammad Ashaq was the bakhshī and waqā'ī-navīs of chakla Mewat.[7] The bakhshī-waqā'ī-navīs were also appointed at different towns: Hissār, Bareilly, Saharanpur, Kumāūn etc.[8] In 38 R.Y. of Aurangzeb Sharfuddīn held the office of waqā'ī-

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1. Sarkar, 61-64, Nigārnāma, 142.
2. See Table.
3. Akhbārāt, 13, 20 Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 44 R.Y./28 Aug and 4 Sept. 1700.
4. Ibid, 14 Sh'abān, 44 R.Y./24 Jan. 1701.
5. Ibid, 4 Jumādī-ul Awwal, 48 R.Y./4 Sept. 1704.
6. Ibid, 17 Rabī'-ul-Sānī, 4 R.Y./10 Dec. 1661.
7. Ibid, 14 Jumādī-ul Awwal, 36 R.Y./21 Jan.1693.
8. Ibid, 10 Safar, 21 Rabī'-ul-Sānī, 19 Sh'abān, 36 R.Y./ 21 Oct. and 30 Dec. 1692 and 25 April, 1693; 1 Ramzān, 37 R.Y./6 May, 1693; 22 Jumādī-ul-Sānī, 46 R.Y./13 Nov. 1702.

Bakhshī and Waqā'ī-Navīs

Reign	R.Y.	Name	Source	Remarks
Shāhjahān	21 R.Y.	Muḥammad Sharīf S/o Islām Khān	Ṣālih, III, 120	Bakhshī and waqā'ī-navīs Shāhjahānābād.
Aurangzeb	4 R.Y.	Mīr Na'imat	A-17 Rabī' ul Ṣānī	" " chakla Mewat.
	36 R.Y.	Muḥammad Sharīf	A-10 & 13 Ṣafar	" " Saharanpur.
	36 R.Y.	Hajī Aḥmad	A-21 Rabī' ul Ṣānī	" " Kumāūn
	36 R.Y.	Muḥammad 'Ashāq (trans.)	A-14 Jumādī ul Ṣānī	" " chakla Mewat.
	36 R.Y.	Muḥammad Fāẓil S/o Muḥammad Akram	A-19 Sh'abān	" " Hissār.
	36 R.Y.	Muḥammad Akram/vice Aṣadullāh	A-20 Sh'abān	" " chakla Hissār.
	37 R.Y.	Shaikh 'Abdullāh	A-1-2 Ramẓān	" " Bareilly
	38 R.Y.	Sayyid Nau' 'Alī/vice Mīr 'Abdullāh	A-19-20 and 30 Shawwāl, 11 Ẓaī-ul Qadah	" " Shāhjahānābād.
	38 R.Y.	Muḥammad Raẓa (trans.)	A-1 Rabī-ul Ṣānī	" " Sirhind.
	38 R.Y.	Sharfuddīn S/o 'Amānullāh vice Ikhlās Khān	A-22 Rajab	" " chakla Mewat.
	44 R.Y.	Sayyid Nau' Alī S/o Amjad Khān	A-9 Rabī-ul Ṣānī	" " Shāhjahānābād. Got the title of Amjad Khān.
	44 R.Y.	Mīr Karamullāh S/o Shukrullāh Khān/vice Sayyid Aḥmad Khān	A-14 Sh'abān	Bakhshī and waqā'ī-navīs sūba Shāhjahānābād.
	44 R.Y.	Mīr Karamullāh/vice Amjad Khān (?)	A-20 Sh'abān	" " Shāhjahānābād.
	46 R.Y.	Mājid Khān	A-13 Shawwāl	" " nigār Shāhjahānābād.
	46 R.Y.	Muḥammad Raẓa	A-22 Jumādī ul Ṣānī	Bakhshī and Waqā'ī-navīs Sirhind.
	47 R.Y.	Ashfāq ul Raṣūl/vice Haṣīb ullāh	A-20 Rabī' ul Ṣānī	Waqā'ī-nigār Saharanpur.
	48 R.Y.	Muḥammad Khān	A-4 Jumādī ul Awwal	Bakhshī and waqā'ī-navīs sarkār Shāhjahānābād.
	48 R.Y.	Mīr Dargāhī	A_11 Jumādī-ul Awwal	Waqā'ī-nigār Bareilly.

navīs of Kachehri-i-khānsāma Shāhjahānābād.[1]

Besides bakhshī and waqā'ī-navīs, a khufia-navīs (or sawānih nigār) was also appointed in the ṣuba.[2] Such officers appear to have been entrusted with the work of supplying confidential intelligence.[3]

5. Dārōgha:

A designation occurs very commonly in respect of officials of various departments that of the dārōgha. This seems to have corresponded with the modern term "Superintendent". As many as 31 departments containing dārōghas are mentioned in our sources in the Delhi ṣūba alone.[4] Sometimes a dārōgha held other posts like amīn, bakhshī, waqā'ī-navīs and kotwāl.[5] At times a person also held two different offices of dārōgha.[6] However, all the dual appointments belonged to the same town, chakla or sarkār.[7]

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1. Ibid, 6 Rabī'-ul-Ṣānī, 38 R.Y./24 Nov. 1694.

2. Ibid, 19 Rajab, 37 R.Y./16 March, 1694; 19 Shawwāl, 26 Rabī'-ul Ṣānī, 46 R.Y./19 March and 19 Sept. 1702; 2 Ramẓān and 13 Zaī-ul-Qadah, 48 R.Y./9 Jan. and 19 March, 1704.

3. Cf. Sarkar, 61-64.

4. See Table I.

5. See Table II.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

Table I

List of Offices Held By A Dārōgha

Name of Office	Source
Dārōgha of courier (harkāra)	A-3 Jumādī-ul-Awwal, 4 R.Y.
Dārōgha of kachehrī-khāna	A-5 Muharram, 5 R.Y.
Dārōgha of elephant stable	A-12 Rajab, 12 R.Y.
Dārōgha of building	M-132
Dārōgha of kir kirāfat khāna (?)	A-27 Rajab, 24 R.Y.
Dārōgha of kachehrī-i-khānsāma	A-10 Sh'abān, 24 R.Y.
Dārōgha of Faiẓ-canal	A-10 Rabī'-ul-Sānī, 26 R.Y.
Dārōgha of artillery	A-10 Safar, 36 R.Y.
Dārōgha of hospital	A-19 Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 36 R.Y.
Dārōgha of garden Faiẓ Bakhsh	A-7 Rabī'-ul-Sānī, 37 R.Y.
Dārōgha of jewels-house (jawāhar khāna)	A-19 Sh'abān, 37 R.Y.
Dārōgha of Ladies chamber	A-21 Shawwāl, 38 R.Y.
Dārōgha of havelī and 'imalāk (property) of Amīr-ul-Umara	A-21 Shawwāl, 38 R.Y.
Dārōgha of Shāhjahānābād	A-7 Zaī-ul-Qadah, 38 R.Y.
Dārōgha of petitions ('arā'iẓ)	A-16 Zaī-ul-Qadah, 38 R.Y.
Dārōgha of jewelled-ornaments (murassai-'ālāt)	A-6 Jumādī-ul-Awwal, 38 R.Y.
Dārōgha of branding	A-7 Zaī-ul-Qadah, 39 R.Y.
Dārōgha of patta-i-khās	A-8 Rabī'-ul-Sānī, 39 R.Y.
Dārōgha of treasury	A-21 Ramẓān, 40 R.Y.
Dārōgha of expenditure of treasury	A-9 Zaī-ul-Qadah, 40 R.Y.

Contd..

Name of Office	Source
Dārōgha of salt-market	A-20 Zaī-ul-Qadah, 47 R.Y.
Dārōgha of defence (nuṣarat) Shāhjahānābād	A-20 Zaī-ul-Qadah, 47 R.Y.
Dārōgha of Shāhganj	A-1 Rabīʿ-ul-Awwal, 47 R.Y.
Dārōgha of court (ʿadālat)	A-2 Rabīʿ-ul-Ṣānī, 47 R.Y.
Dārōgha of imperial treasury of ṣūba Shāhjahānābād	A-25 Jumādī-ul-Awwal, 47 R.Y.
Dārōgha of collections (majmuaʿ-khāna)	A-26 Jumādī-ul-Ṣānī,47 R.Y.
Dārōgha of lamp-house (shamaʿ-chirāg-khāna)	A-22 Ramẓān, 48 R.Y.
Dārōgha of gardens ṣūba Shāhjahānābād	A-2 Muḥarram, 48 R.Y.
Dārōgha of Kachehrī-i-dīwānī	A-20 Rabīʿ-ul-Awwal,48 R.Y.
Dārōgha of salt-beds (namaksār)	A-22 Jumādī-ul-Awwal,48 R.Y.
Dārōgha of Sāʾir Shāhjahānābād	A-28 Jumādī-ul-Awwal,48 R.Y.

Table II

List Of Dual Appointments Held By A Dārogha

NAME	OFFICE	SOURCE
ʿAbdul Nabī	Dārogha of Shāhjahānābād and patta-i-khāṣ Shāhjahānābād	A-25 Muḥarram, 39 R.Y.
Mīr Ibrāhīm	Dārogha of expenditure of treasury and amīn of Shāhjahānābād.	A-9 Ẕai-ul Qadah, 40 R.Y.
Amjad (Muḥammad?) Khān	Dārogha of Faiẓ canal Shāhjahānābād and bakhshī and waqāʿi-nigār.	A-5 Rajab, 46 R.Y.
Amānullah	Dārogha of building of Daulat khāna and mīr-bahrī of Shāhjahānābād.	A-23 Ramẓān, 47 R.Y.
Amānullah	Dārogha of garden Hayāt Bakhsh and dārogha of salt-market Shāhjahānābād.	A-20 Ẕai-ul-Qadah, 47 R.Y.
ʿAbdul Islām	Dārogha of defence (nuṣarat) Shāhjahānābād and amīn of salt market Shāhjahānābād.	A-20 Ẕai-ul Qadah, 47 R.Y.
Muḥammad Ḥusain	Dārogha of imperial treasury and superintendent of tomb (mutawallī-i-roẓah) of Khwāja Quṭbuddīn	A-20 Muḥarram, 47 R.Y.
Amjad Khān	Dārogha of amīn-i-jiziya, bakhshī and waqāʿi-navīs and dārogha of Shāhjahānābād canal.	A-2 Muḥarram, 48 R.Y.
Sayyid Ashraf	Dārogha of Kachehrī-i-dīwānī and kotwāl of Shāhjahānābād.	A-20 Rabī-ul Awwal, 48 R.Y.
ʿAbul Naẓīr	Dārogha of salt-beds (namaksār) and amīn-i-jiziya chakla Mewat.	A-22 Jumādī-ul Awwal, 48 R.Y.

Depending upon the status of office a dārōgha could be a mansabdār; his mansab varying according to the importance of the office. The lowest mansab of a dārōgha found in our sūba is 80 zāt, held by Muhammad 'Āshiq, dārōgha of 'adālat at Bareilly.[1] The highest rank mentioned is 1000/200. This was given to Khidmat Khān, dārōgha of 'arā'iz (petitions) at Shāhjahānābād.[2] A mansab of 500 and above was granted to the dārōghas of Jawāhar Khāna (jewel-office), kirkirakhāna, 'arā'iz (petitions), murassa' ālāt (ornaments) etc.[3] Holders of different mansabs could, of course, be appointed to the same office. Ishhāq Khān who was dārōgha of Faiz canal held a mansab of 200 zāt, while Hafiz Mīr Muhammad who held the office of dārōgha of the canal, sūba Shāhjahānābād, possessed the rank of 100 zāt only.[4] 'Amānullāh, dārōgha of buildings held the mansab of 300/20 while Muhammad Khalīl holding the same office had a mansab of 100 zāt only.[5] 'Amānullāh, who was dārōgha of daulat khāna buildings of Shāhjahānābād held the mansab of 410 zāt.[6] But in 46 R.Y. of Aurangzeb, when

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1. Akhbārāt, 2 Rabī'-ul-Sānī, 47 R.Y./15 Aug, 1703.

2. Ibid, 16 Zaī-ul-Qadah, 38 R.Y./7 July, 1694.

3. See Table III.

4. Akhbārāt, 10 Rabī'-ul Sānī, 26 R.Y./8 April, 1683; 23 Rabī'-ul-Sānī, 44 R.Y./7 Oct. 1700.

5. Ibid, 7 Zaī-ul-Qadah, 38 R.Y./30 June, 1694; 23 Rabī'-ul-Sānī, 46 R.Y./16 Sept. 1702.

6. Ibid, 9 Zaī-ul-Qadah, 39 R.Y./21 June, 1695.

Table III

Mansabs Held By Dāroghas

Name		Office	Mansab	Source
Yūsuf Khān	Dārogha	of Kirkirāfat Khāna (?) Shāhjahānābād	500/100	A-27 Rajab, 24 R.Y.
ʿAbdul Qāsim	"	Kachehrī-i-khānsāmā Shāhjahānābād	200/5	A-10 Shaʿbān, 24 R.Y.
Muhammad Wāsil	"	of artillery Shāhjahānābād	150/	A-10 Safar, 36 R.Y.
Husain Qulī	"	of hospital Shāhjahānābād	300/5	A-19 Rabī-ul-Awwal, 36 R.Y.
Faizullah	"	of Faiz Bakhsh garden	200/	A-7 Rabī-ul-Sānī, 37 R.Y.
Sayyid Yāhya	"	of jewels-house Shāhjahānābād	500/420	A-19 Shaʿbān, 37 R.Y.
Siyādat Kām and Shād Kām	" Amir-ul-Umarā	of havelī and amalāk (property) of	200/5	A-21 Shawwāl, 38 R.Y.
ʿAbdul Rahīm Fāzil Khān	"	of Shāhjahānābād	400/	A-7 Zai-ul-Qadah, 38 R.Y.
Amānullah	"	of building Shāhjahānābād	300/20	A-7 Zai-ul-Qadah, 38 R.Y.
ʿAbdullah	"	of Kirkirā khāna (?)	500/25	A-11 Zai-ul-Qadah, 38 R.Y.
Khidmat Khān	"	of petitions Shāhjahānābād	1000/200	A-16 Zai-ul-Qadah, 38 R.Y.
Khwabakhsh Khān (d)	"	of jewelled ornaments Shāhjahānābād	700/200	A-16 Zai-ul-Qadah, 38 R.Y.
Mahram Khān	"	of garden Jahānārā Begum	150/	A-13 Rabī-ul-Awwal, 38 R.Y.
ʿAbdul Bāqī and Muhammad Muʿazzam	"	of havelī Dārā Shukoh Shāhjahānābād	200/	A-12 Rabī-ul-Sānī, 38 R.Y.
Amānullah	"	of building Daulat Khāna Shāhjahānābād	410/	A-9 Zai-ul-Qadah, 39 R.Y.
ʿAbdul Nabī	"	of Shāhjahānābād and amīn of patta-i-khās Shāhjahānābād.	150/5	A-9 Rabī-ul-Sānī, 39 R.Y.
Mīr Ibrāhīm	"	of total expenditure of treasury Shāhjahānābād and amīn of Shāhjahānābād.	500/40	A-9 Zai-ul-Qadah, 40 R.Y.
Muhammad Ghafūr	"	of expenditure of treasury sūba Shāhjahānābād (trans.)	250/10	A-27 Safar, 44 R.Y.
Hāfiz Mīr Muhammad	"	of (sūba) Shāhjahānābād (transf.) canal	500/50	A-23 Rabī-ul-Sānī, 44 R.Y.
Muhammad Khalīl	"	of buildings	100/	A-23 Rabī-ul-Sānī, 46 R.Y.
Amjad Khān (? Muhammad Khān)	"	of Shāhjahānābād canal and bakhshī and waqāʿi-nigār	100/10	A-5 Rajab, 46 R.Y.

contd../

Name		Office	Manṣab	Source
Amānullāh	Dārogha	of building Daulat khāna Shāhjahānābād and mīr-bahrī	400/	A-23 Ramẓān, 47 R.Y.
Amānullah	"	of garden Hayāt Bakhsh and dārogha of Salt-market Shāhjahānābād	150/5	A-20 Zai-ul-Qadah, 47 R.Y.
ʿAbdul Islām	"	of defence of Shāhjahānābād and amīn of salt-market Shāhjahānābād.	250/10	A-20 Zai-ul-Qadah, 47 R.Y.
Muḥammad Ḥusain	"	of imperial treasury of Shāhjahānābād and mutawalli-i-rozah (superintendent of tomb) Khwāja Quṭbuddin	300/10	A-20 Muḥarram, 47 R.Y.
Muḥammad Kāzim	"	of Shāhganj Shāhjahānābād	80/45	A-1 Rabī-ul-Awwal, 47 R.Y.
Muḥammad ʿAshiq	"	of Court, Bareilly	80/	A-2 Rabī-ul-Ṣānī, 47 R.Y.
Muḥammad Razā	"	of garden Shāhjahānābād	200/30	A-30 Rajab 47 R.Y.
Muḥammad Sharīf	"	of lamp-house Shāhjahānābād	80/5	A-22 Ramẓān, 48 R.Y.
ʿAbdul Islām	"	of gardens ṣūba Shāhjahānābād	200/10	A-2 Muḥarram, 48 R.Y.
Amjad Khān	"	of Shāhjahānābād canal and amīn-i-jiziya and bakhshī and waqāi-navīs Shāhjahānābād	700/180	A-2 Muḥarram, 48 R.Y.
ʿAbdul Rahmān	"	of kachehrī-i-dīwānī Shāhjahānābād	100/220(?)	A-3 Rabī-ul-Ṣānī, 48 R.Y.
ʿAbdul Nazīr	"	of salt-beds chakla Mewat and amīn-i-jiziya chakla Mewat.	150/	A-22 Jumādī-ul-Awwal, 48 R.Y.

the office of mīr was attached to his office, his mansab was reduced to 400 zāt.[1] Similarly, Muhammad Razā, who was dārōgha of garden of Shāhjahānābād held the mansab of 200/30[2], while 'Abdul Islām, who was dārōgha of gardens of the sūba Shāhjahānābād held a lower mansab of 200/10.[3]

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1. Ibid, 23 Ramzān, 47 R.Y./10 Feb. 1703.
2. Ibid, 30 Rajab, 47 R.Y./9 Dec. 1703
3. Ibid, 2 Muharram, 48 R.Y./7 May, 1704.

Appendix

List of Faujdārs

Reign	R.Y.	Name	Source	Remarks
BAIRAT SINGHANA				
Aurangzeb	39 R.Y.	'Ināyat ullāh S/o Shukr ullāh Khān (transferred)	A - 6 Zai-ul Hijja	Amīn and faujdār of pargana Bairat Singhana.
	47 R.Y.	Sayyid Qāsim	A - 10 Ramzān	
			- 5 Shawwāl	Held faujdārī and amīnī of Bairat Singhana and Kotwālship of Shāhjahānābād. Also appointed karōra sā'ir Shāhjahānābād/vice Mīr Qāsim.
			- 16 Muharram	
			- 17 Muharram	Offices of Kotwālī and karōra sā'ir Shāhjahānābād taken away from him.
			- 17 Rabī'-ul-Awwal	Also appointed Kotwāl and dārōgha of sā'ir Bairat-Singhana.
BAREILLY				
Shāhjahān	30 R.Y.	Mukund	Sālih, III, 221	Held the faujdārī and amīnī rights simultaneously.
Aurangzeb	I R.Y.	Rā'i Mukarram	A1-268	
	3 R.Y.	Khair Andesh Khān	A - 26 Jumādī-ul Sānī	Appointed faujdār and amīn of Bareilly.
	12 R.Y.	Rā'i Makarand	M - 87	
	14 R.Y.	'Ināyat Khān	M - 110	Faujdār chakla Bareilly.
	37 R.Y.	Khair Andesh Khān	A - 1 Ramzān	
		" " "	11 Sh'abān	Mentioned as faujdār and amīn of Bareilly.
		" " " (transferred to Khairābād)	19 Sh'abān	
	38 R.Y.	Khān Jahān Bahādur S/o Khair Andesh Khān	A - 2 & 20 Zai-ul-Hijja	
	38 R.Y.	Khair Andesh Khān	A - 20 Zai-ul Hijja	Held the faujdārī of Khairābād and Bareilly simultaneously. After the death of Atīq ullāh Khān also obtained the faujdārī of Etawa.

contd.../2

Reign	R.Y.	Name	Source	Remarks
DELHI (SHĀHJAHĀNĀBĀD)				
Jahāngīr	16 R.Y.	Rāja Kishan Dās	T-342	
Shāhjahān	10 R.Y.	'Āqha Khān Khwāja Sarā	Lāhorī, Iii, 270.	
Aurangzeb	2 R.Y.	Ḥasan 'Alī Khān/vice Kirat Singh	Al-347	
	4 R.Y.	Faujdār Khān	Al-625	Held the offices of faujdār, kotwāl and dārōgha of Shāhdara simultaneously.
	4 R.Y.	Zain uddīn Aḥmad Khān	A-26 Jumādī-ul Awwal	
	8 R.Y.	Zail Singh	A-11 Jumādī-ul Sānī	
	22 R.Y.	Faulād Khān	M-172	
	25 R.Y.	Shukr ullāh Khān/vice Faulād Khān (d)	M-214	
	36 R.Y. 37 R.Y. 37 R.Y.	Shukr ullāh Khān " " " " " " (trans-ferred to Merta)	A-22 Ṣafar A-2 Ramẓān A-4 Ramẓān	
	37 R.Y.	Faujdār Khān/vice Shukr ullāh Khān	A-20 Sh'abān	Mentioned as kotwāl of Shāhjahānābād.
	38 R.Y.	Rāja Uttam Rām (transferred)	A-23 Zaī-ul Hijja	
	38 R.Y.	Bāqī Khān	A-28 Rabī'-ul Awwal	Mentioned as faujdār and kotwāl of Shāhjahānābād. Was also granted exemption from dāgh-o-taṣiha and Khurāq-i-dawwāb.
	38 R.Y.	" "	A-6 Jumādī-ul Awwal	Along with the offices of faujdār and kotwāl he was also appointed dārōgha Alwar khana(?)/ vice Sayyid Ibrāhīm.
	40 R.Y.	Bāqī Khān	A-14 Ramẓān	
	43 R.Y.	Zainuddīn Aḥmad	A-6 Rajab	Demanded successfully the parganas of Hodal and Farīdābād which fell under the tankhwa jāgīr of Bādshāhzāda to suppress rebellion.
	43 R.Y.	" "	12 Rajab	Also appointed faujdār of pargana Baroda in sarkār Nārnaul/vice Bāqir Khān.

contd.../3

Reign	R.Y.	Name	Source	Remarks
	44 R.Y.	Fazl ʻAlī Khān	A-13 Rabīʻ-ul Awwal	
			-20 Rabīʻ-ul Awwal	Also appointed bakhshī and wāqaiʻ-navīs of Shāhjahānābād (khujasta bunīyād)
	44 R.Y.	Zūlfiqār Beg/vice Zain-uddīn Aḥmad Khān	A-25 Jumādī-ul Ṣānī	
	46 R.Y.	Shākir Khān	A-29 Shʻabān	
	47 R.Y.	" "	A-13 Ramzān	Also held faujdārī of Saharanpur.
	47 R.Y.	" "	A-4 Shawwāl	Faujdār of Saharanpur and Shāhjahānābād. Ordered to suppress the rebellion in Palwal (pargana was then in the jāgīr of Bādshāhzāda).
	47 R.Y.	" "	A-8 Rabīʻ-ul Ṣānī	Also appointed qiledār of Shāhjāhānābād. However, in the same year he was deprived of faujdārī of Saharanpur.
	48 R.Y.	" "	A-24 Zaī-ul Hijja	
			-30 Zaī-ul-Hijja	
			-12 Jumādī-ul Ṣānī	
	51 R.Y.	ʻAbdul Rahīm	A-10 Zaī-ul Qadah	Faujdār and amīn Shāhjahānābād.
HISSAR FIRUZA				
Jahāngīr	2 R.Y.	Mubārak Khān	T-55	Faujdār sarkār Hissār.
	4 R.Y.	Ṣaif Khān Bārha	T-75	" " "
	10 R.Y.	Muḥammad Ḥusain b/o Khwāja Jahān	T-152	" " "
Shāhjahān	I R.Y.	Sayyid ʻAbdul Wāḥid S/o Muṣtafa Khān Bukhārī	LIi, 191 Q-150b	" " " Faujdār sarkār Hissār and Sirhind.
	5 R.Y.	Ṭarbīyat Khān	LIi, 431	Faujdār chakla Hissār.
	5 R.Y.	Kripā Rām Gaur	LIi, 432	Faujdār sarkār Hissār.

contd../4

Reign	R.Y.	Name	Source	Remarks
	6 R.Y.	Muḥammad ʿAlī Beg son-in-law of Qulij Khān	LIi, 542	Faujdār sarkār Hissār.
	18 R.Y.	Muḥammad ʿAlī	LII, 408-9	Faujdār sarkār Hissār Received title of Khān.
Aurangzeb	36 R.Y.	ʿAbdul ʿĀẓam (wakīl of Shāhzāda Muḥammad ʿĀẓam)	A-19 Shʿabān	
	38 R.Y.	Sayyid Muḥammad	A-4 Ramẓān, Shawwāl	Faujdār chakla Hissār.
	40 R.Y.	Luṭfullāh S/o Shukrullāh	A-2 Ramẓān	
	43 R.Y.	Wazīr Khān/vice Aḥmad Yār Khān	A-22 Jumādī ul-Awwal	Held faujdārī of chakla Sirhind.
	44 R.Y.	Yāqūb Khān S/o Ibrāhīm Khān	A-4 Jumādī ul-Awwal	Faujdār chakla Hissār.
	45 R.Y.	" "	A-29 Zal-ul Qadah	
	46 R.Y.	Wazīr Khān	A-23 Jumādī-ul Awwal	Held the faujdārī and amīnī of Hissār and Sirhind.
	47 R.Y.	Zain-uddīn Khān/vice Wazīr Khān	A-5 Shawwāl	
MEWAT				
Akbar	46 R.Y.	Iftikhar Beg	AN, III, 815	
	47 R.Y.	" "	Muʿatamad Khān, 489	
Jahāngīr	12 R.Y.	Mubāriz Khān	T-203	
Shāhjahān	I R.Y.	Dilāwar Khān.	Q 131a	
	21 R.Y.	Khalīl ullāh Khān/ vice Shāh Beg Khān	Ṣāliḥ, III, 6	Also held Mewat in jāgīr.
Aurangzeb	I R.Y.	Ghazanfar Khān/vice Fidāʾī Khān	Al-167	
	4 R.Y.	Mīr Khān	A-29 Zal-ul Ḥijja	Faujdār chakla Mewat
			A-16 Muḥarram	Faujdār Mewat. Received sihbandīs from Faiẓ Khān's jāgīr.

contd.../5

Reign	R.Y.	Name	Source	Remarks
	4 R.Y.	Niyāẓiuddīn Khān/vice Nuṣrat Yār Khān	A-2 Jumādī ul Awwal	Faujdār chakla Mewat.
	4 R.Y.	Nuṣrat Yār Khān (?)	A-26 Jumādī ul Awwal	Faujdār Mewat.
	16 R.Y.	Mīr Ibrāhīm Kār Ṭalab Khān/son-in-law of Saffiyāh Bāno Begum Kokāh	M-124	
	20 R.Y.	Faūlād Khān (transferred)	A-Zaī-ul Ḥijja	
	20 R.Y.	Muḥatashim Khān/vice Faūlād Khān	M-158	
	22 R.Y.	Muḥatashim Khān	M-181	
	24 R.Y.	Faūlād Khān/vice Muḥatashim Khān	A-8 Sh'abān	Also held faujdārī and kotwālship of Shāhjahānābād.
	36 R.Y.	Muḥāmid Khān (Ḥāmid Khān) S/o Murtaẓa Khān	M-347 A-19 Sh'abān	
	37 R.Y.	" "	A-24 & 27 Rabī'ul Awwal	
	37 R.Y.	Shukrullāh Khān/vice Muḥāmid Khān	A-20 & 30 Sh'abān	
	38 R.Y.	" "(transferred)	A-4 Ramẓān	
	44 R.Y.	Bāqī Khān	A-1 Sh'abān	Also held faujdārī of Bairat Singhana.
	45 R.Y.	" " (d)	A-25 Ramẓān	
	46 R.Y.	Ra'dandāz Khān (d)	A-9 Shawwāl	
	46 R.Y.	Sayyid Wajhuddīn	A-26 Shawwāl -6 Muḥarram	
	47 R.Y.	Shukrullah Khān/vice Wajhuddīn	A-11 Ramẓān	Wajhuddīn replaced by him since he could not suppress disturbances.
	47 R.Y.	" "	A-23 Ramẓān -14 Rabī'ul Awwal	Dāgh-o-tashīharemitted. Killed the Mewat rebel Akram and sent his head to Shāhjahānābād.
	48 R.Y.	" "	A-18 Shawwāl -30 Jumādī ul Ṣānī	

Reign	R.Y.	Name	Source	Remarks
MIYĀN DOĀB				
Jahāngīr	18 R.Y.	Sādāt Khān	T-361	
Shāhjahān	I R.Y.	Dendār Khān Sayyid Bahwa	LIi, 191 Q.131a	
	5 R.Y.	Zūlfiqār Khān/vice Sayyid Luṭfullah ʿAlī Bukhārī	Q.345a	
	16 R.Y.	Muḥammad Laṭīf S/o Mukramat Khān	W-154	
	24 R.Y.	Sulṭān Ḥusain S/o Aṣālat Khān	Ṣāliḥ, III, 120	
	28 R.Y.	Muḥammad Beg Khān/vice Ghaẓanfar Khān	Ṣāliḥ, III, 190	Entrusted with the task of building Mukhlispūr fort (Palace).
	30 R.Y.	Ghaẓanfar Khān/vice Husain (Muḥammad) Beg Khān	Ṣāliḥ, III, 237	Since Muḥammad Beg Khān could not complete the construction of Mukhlispūr Palace and the canal in time whereupon he was transferred.
	32 R.Y.	Sayyid Bahādur/vice Ghaẓanfar Khān	Ṣāliḥ, III, 271	Obtained the jāgīr of Dūn and Srīnagar.
Aurangzeb	I R.Y.	Ghaẓanfar Khān/vice Fidāʾī Khān	Al-167	
	5 R.Y.	Jahāngīr Qulī Khān	Al-765	
	6 R.Y.	" " "	Al-848, 849.	
MORADABAD				
Aurangzeb	2 R.Y.	Qāsim Khān	Al-404-5, 481	
	3 R.Y.	Aṣālat Khān/vice Qāsim Khān	Al-564, 569	
	3 R.Y.	Muḥammad Amīn Khān Bahādur	A-12 Shawwāl	
	4 R.Y.	" " "	A-2 Muḥarram	
	4 R.Y.	Qulī Muḥammad Khān Bahādur/vice Muḥammad Amīn Khān	A-18 Muḥarram	

contd.../7

Reign	R.Y.	Name	Source	Remarks
	4 R.Y.	Aṣālat Khān	A1-624	
	6 R.Y.	" "	A1-851	
	7 R.Y.	" "	A1-862	
	9 R.Y.	" " (d)	A1-966-67	
	9 R.Y.	Ilahwardī Khān	A1-966-67	
	12 R.Y.	Nāmdār Khān	M-92	
	24 R.Y.	Afrāsiab Khān/vice Faiẓullāh Khān	M-210	
	25 R.Y.	Afrāsiab Khān	A-26 Zaī-ul Qadah	
	32 R.Y.	Masʻud Khān	M-316	Received the title of Khān. Also held Moradabad in jāgīr. Ordered to accompany the army of Fīrūz Jung.
	37 R.Y.	ʻAlī Qulī Khān	A-12 Shʻabān	
	37 R.Y.	Nawāzish Khan	A-15 Shʻabān	
	37 R.Y.	ʻĀqil Khān S/o Mahābat Khān (?)	A-16 Shʻabān	
	37 R.Y.	Nawāzish Khān	A-16 & 20 Shʻabān	
	38 R.Y.	Nawāzish Khān	A-27 Shawwāl	
	38 R.Y.	Muḥammad Ashraf	A-27 Shawwāl	Also held the qiledārī of Moradabad urf Murāj.
	39 R.Y.	Muḥammad Yār Khān	A-25 Ramẓān	
	39 R.Y.	Muḥammad Yār Khān/vice Nawāzish Khān	A-22 and 25 Shʻabān	
	40 R.Y.	" " "	A-2 & 6 Ramẓān	
	45 R.Y.	" " "	A-10 Zaī-ul Qadah - 8 Muḥarram -12 & 14 Muḥarram	

contd.../8

Reign	R.Y.	Name	Source	Remarks
	46 R.Y.	ʿAẓmatullah (nāʾib of Muḥammad Yār Khān)	A-26 Shawwāl -11 Rabiul Ṣānī	
	46 R.Y.	Muḥammad Yār Khān	A-29 Jumādī ul Ṣānī	Also appointed ṣūbedār and qileʿdār Shāhjahānābād.
	47 R.Y.	ʿAẓamatullah	A-16 Rabī-ul Ṣānī	
	48 R.Y.	" "	A-26-27 Jumādī-ul-Awwal	
SAHĀRANPŪR				
Shāhjahān	16 R.Y.	Sher khwāja	W-133	Also held the faujdārī of chakla Merta.
	28 R.Y.	Ghaẓanfar Khān	Ṣāliḥ, III, 189.	
Aurangzeb	4 R.Y.	ʿAbdul Qāsim Khān	A-25 Jumādī-ul Awwal	Complaints were registered against him by the wakīls of Badan Singh of Deoband. However, he pleaded that tranquility prevailed in his jurisdiction.
	13 R.Y.	Jahāngīr Qulī Khān/vice Walī Beg Gīlānī	A-9 Ramẓān	
	13 R.Y.	Walī Beg Gīlānī/vice Jahāngīr Qulī Khān	A-27 Ẓai ul Ḥijja	
	18 R.Y.	Rūḥullah Khān	M-144	
	19 R.Y.	Muḥatshim Khān	M-153	
	20 R.Y.	Kāmyāb Khān/vice Muḥatashim Khān	M-158	
	21 R.Y.	Imām wardī	M-165	
	26 R.Y.	Kāmil Khān	M-223	
	36 R.Y.	Shaikh Mīr Tahawwur Khān/vice Mukramat Khān	A-22 Rabī-ul Ṣānī	
	38 R.Y.	Tahawwur Khān	A-4 Ẓai-ul Qadah	
	40 R.Y.	" "	M-384	

contd..../9

Reign	R.Y.	Name	Source	Remarks
	41 R.Y.	Tahawwur Khān (transferred)	M-386	
			A-13 Ramzān -4 Shawwāl	
	47 R.Y.	Shākir Khān/vice Shukr ullah Khān (transferred)	A-8 Rabī-ul Sānī	
	47 R.Y.	Mutalib Muhammad Saeed	A-3 Jumādī ul Awwal	Received exemption from dāgh-o-tashīha
	48 R.Y.	Jalāl/vice Muhammad Saeed	A-5 & 11 Jumādī-ul Sānī	
SAMBHAL				
Jahāngīr	11 R.Y.	Mīr Mughal/vice Sayyid 'Abdul Wāris	T-161	Faujdār sarkār Sambhal.
Shāhjahān	2 R.Y.	Nazr Bahādur	LIi, 255	" " "
Aurangzeb	13 R.Y.	Jahāngīr Qulī Khān (nāib Bādshāhzāda Muhammad A'zam)	M-104	
	13 R.Y.	Faizullah Khān/vice wakīl of Bādshāhzāda, Jahāngīr Qulī Khān	M-106	
	15 R.Y.	Faizullah Khān	M-118	
	16 R.Y.	" "	M-129	
	17 R.Y.	" "	M-132	
SIKANDARĀBĀD				
Aurangzeb	2 R.Y. 4 R.Y. 12 R.Y.	Sayyid Kabīr Khān " " " Muhammad Murād	A-21 Rajab A-22 Rajab A-20 Rajab -22 Rajab	Amīn and faujdār Sikandarābād. Faujdār chakla Sikandarābād.
	38 R.Y.	Mirzā 'Alī (transferred)	A-25 Rabīul Awwal	
	49 R.Y.	Zainuddīn Khān	A-7 Zai ul Hijja -12 Zai-ul Hijja	Amīn and faujdār Sikandarābād. Faujdār dāman-i-Sikandarābād.

contd.../10

Reign	R.Y.	Name	Source	Remarks
SIRHIND				
Shahjahan	5 R.Y.	Ṭarbiyat Khān	LII, 431	Also held the faujdārī of sarkār Hissār.
	12 R.Y.	Muʿaz ul mulk	LII, 116-117	
	13 R.Y.	Todar Mal Afẓal Khānī	LII, 206	Received title of "Rāʾi" and served as dīwān, amīn and faujdār of sarkār Sirhind.
	14 R.Y.	Todar Mal	LII, 236.	Held the faujdārī and amīnī of chakla Sirhind. Also obtained the faujdārī of Lakhi Jangal.
	15 R.Y.	" "	LII, 247	Mentioned as faujdār and amīn chakla Sirhind.
	16 R.Y.	" "	LII, 319	Held the faujdārī, amīnī and dīwānī of sarkār Sirhind.
	21 R.Y.	" "	Ṣāliḥ, III, 7	Received the title of "Rāja" and obtained the faujdārī, amīnī and dīwānī of sarkār Sirhind, Dipālpur, Jallandhar and Sulṭānpūr.
Aurangzeb	I R.Y.	Shaikh ʿAbdul Karīm Thānesarī/vice Todar Mal	A1-220	Faujdār chakla Sirhind.
	3 R.Y.	Wazīr Khān	A-21 Shabān	
	4 R.Y.	" "	A-6 Muḥarram	
	4 R.Y.	Ṭalab Khān	A-24 Jumādī ul Awwal	
	5 R.Y.	Bāqir Khān	A1-765	
	6 R.Y.	" "	A1-848-49	
	12 R.Y.	Khidmat Guzār Khān	A-19 Rabīʿ ul Ṣānī	
	17 R.Y.	Shaikh ʿAbdul ʿAzīz	M-132	Faujdār chakla Sirhind. Received title of Dilāwar Khān.
	38 R.Y.	Kār Ṭalab Khān	A-26 Rabīʿ ul Ṣānī -28 Rabīʿ ul Ṣānī - 1 Jumādī-ul Awwal	Faujdār chakla Sirhind. Also obtained the faujdārī of Doāb Jalandhar/vice Shamsuddīn.

contd.../11

Reign	R.Y.	Name	Source	Remarks
	39 R.Y.	Kār Ṯalab Khān	A-14 Zaī-ul Hijja	Appointed dārōgha of Shāhjahānābād canal.
	43 R.Y.	Wazīr Khān	A-22 Jumādī ul Awwal	Held the faujdārī of Hissār.
			-10 Jumādī ul Ṣānī	Pursued the rebels of Hissār who fled into Lakhi Jangal.
	46 R.Y.	Wazīr Khān	A-23 Jumādī ul Awwal	Held the faujdārī and dīwānī of chakla Sirhind and Hissār/vice Quṯbuddīn.
	48 R.Y.	" "	A-19 Ramẓān	
			-21 Ramẓān	
			-6 Shawwāl	
			-21 Jumādī ul Ṣānī	
			-20 Sh'abān	

A = Akhbārāt

AL = 'Ālamgīrnāma

AN = Akbarnāma

L = Lāhorī

M = Ma'āṣir

Q = Qazwīnī

T = Tuzuk

W = Wāriṣ

Chapter 9

TRADE AND COMMERCE

1. Trade Routes :

Delhi occupies a strategic situation, for military and commercial purposes. Spate calls it "the gateway between the Thar-Aravalli barrier and the Himālaya; the march land position between the north-west, ever accessible to new waves of invasion." The route from the north-west strikes the Ganga Yamuna river system here, just above "the last dying spurs of the Aravallis"[1].

One major route connected Delhi with Lahore, the latter city being the initial point for caravans leading to Central Asia and Iran. The established route described by many authorities ran via Panipat, Karnal, Thanesar, Ambala, Sirhind and Ludhiana into Sūba Lahore.[2]

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1. Spate, 541.

2. Chahār-gulshan, 143a. This was the main highway followed by almost all the European travellers who travelled from Delhi to Lahore or vice versa; Father Monserrate, who accompanied Mughal Emperor Akbar to Lahor (Monserrate, 95-102), Finch (Purchas, IV, 44-51), Thomas coryat (Early travels in India 1583-1619 ed. William Foster, London, 1927, pp. 235-39), Steel & Crowther (Purchas, IV, 266-68) Pelsaert (p.XI), Manrique (II, 182-84), Tavernier (I, 77-78), Manucci (II p.174-79). Akbar and Jahāngīr both followed this highway. Akbar-Nāma, II, 336-50, Tuzuk, 26-41.

This route to Lahore with which the modern railway Delhi--Ambala-Lahor main line is so closely aligned, replaced the older route leading directly to Multan and running through Hānsī, Sirsa and Ajodhan (Pak-pattan). The latter route was used by Ibn Battuta in the 14th century;[1] but no traveller is known to have used it in the Mughal period.

The shift in the route was due to the rising importance of Lahor over Multan in the 16th century.[2]

In one sense Delhi remained for a large part of our period a station only on the high route between Lahore and Agra; as Delhi became more important with the foundation of Shāhjahānābād, the Delhi - Agra route came to be still more heavily frequented. It ran through Palwal, Bamnikhera, Kosi, Akbarpur, Mathura and Sikandara.[3]

The highway from Agra to Lahore *via* Delhi is described by a number of travellers.[4]

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1. Ibn Battuta, *Rihla*, Eng., tr. Mehdi Husain, Baroda, 1953, pp. 12-24.

2. Cf. W.H.Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, Delhi, 1974, p.219.

3. *Chahār - Gulshan*, 142b.

4. Father Monserrate (Monserrate, 32 et passim), Finch(*Purchas* IV, 47-51), Thomas Coryat (*Early travels*, 235-39), Pelsaert (p.XI), Steel & Crowther, (*Purchas*, IV, 266-68), Manrique (II, 182-84), Tavernier (I, 77-78), Manucci (II, 174-79).

The highway from Agra to Lahore had a series of bridges. One was over a nāla between Farīdābād and Sarāi Bakhtāwar-nagar.[1] Another was the wellknown Bārahpula bridge. Finch says it had eleven arches.[2] However, Manucci who too mentions this bridge says that it was a long bridge, giving the correct number of arches as 12.[3] Over the West, a bridge, north or Delhi over Shāhnahr canal was built by Bakhtāwar Khān.[4] A much earlier bridge apparently of Akbar's time carried the route over the West Yamuna canal near Karnal.[5]

Our authorities say that the entire Lahore-Delhi-Agra route was lined with trees on both sides.[6] The trees had probably been laid out before Jahāngīr's time, but he gave orders for a more regular planting.[7]

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1. Mirāt-ul-Ālam, 252.
2. Finch, Purchas, IV, 48
3. Manucci, I, 119, 233.
4. Mirāt-ul-Ālam, 253a.
5. Monserrate, 98, Chahār-Gulshan 143a. It seems to have been near Sarāi Pul. It can still be seen by the side of the main road to Ambala. It has three arches.
6. Tuzuk 277; Sir Thomas Roe, Purchas III, 432, Steel and Crowther, Purchas, IV, 268, Thevenot, 57, Bernier, 284, Tavernier, I 78, Manucci, I, 164, Steel and Crowther, Purchas, IV, 268.
7. Tuzuk, 277, Bernier, 284, Manucci, I, 164.

The trees were there when Bernier took this route, though he found the road "Cheerless".[1] Roe, on the otherhand, though speaking on hearsay, described the avenue as "one of the great works and wonders of the world".[2] By Tavernier's time, the trees had begun to be in a delapidated state with no one to take care of them.[3]

Jahāngīr also ordered that at every Kuroh, a Kos-minar should be erected to reckon the correct distance[4] and also ordered that wells be dug at the distances of three Kuroh fof the convenience of travellers.[5] Bernier found them of double use, to provide water to the travellers as well as to the young trees.[6]

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1. Bernier, 284.
2. Roe, Purchas, IV, 432.
3. Tavernier, I, 78.
4. Tuzuk, 277, Bernier, 284, Thevenot, 57, Manucci, I, 164. Thevenot, writes that at "east-half league was marked with a kind of Turret" giving the number "three scores and nine, three score and ten of them betwixt the two capital cities". (1 score = a set of twenty).
5. Tuzuk, 277.
6. Bernier, 284.

The Kos-minars still survive along the old road, and Elliot measured the distances between them to work out the distance of the Kuroh.[1]

There was also an elaborate net-work of sarāis all along this highway. Steel and Crowther write that at every five or six 'course' there were sarāis built either by the Emperor or by other important persons.[2] But the route was apparently so much frequented by the traders that even those sarāis were not sufficient, Steel and Crowther complain that these were overcrowded by the 'Baniās'.[3] Thevenot also speaks of the little "serraglios or caravanseras" from stage to stage" for accomodating the travellers.[4] Manrique praises them as elegant and well constructed; he too adds that in some of the sarāis it was difficult to get a room.[5]

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1. Elliot has widely surveyed the lengths of the Kos-minars and calculated one Kos = 2 miles, 4 furlongs, 158 yards.

2. Steel and Crowther, Purchas, IV, 268.

3. Ibid.

4. Thevenot, 57.

5. Manrique, II, 184.

Some of the sarāis mentioned by the travellers on this route starting from Agra were: Shāh-ki-Sarāi (6 leagues from Agra), Sarāi Boutta (16 Kos from Agra), Badeg Sarāi (10 Kos from Rowncta), Sarāi Chatta (12 Kos from Mathura), another sarāi was 9 Kos from Sarāi Chatta built by Khān 'Azam, Sarāi Purwdl (11 Kos from earlier sarāi) built by Shaikh Farid, 10 Kos from Sarāi Purwdl was another sarāi built by the same person. At the entrance of Houdle (13 Kos from Deury) there was a three storied sarāi having one hundred steps.[1] Besides these there were Sarāi Karnal (14 Kos from Dorala), Sarāi Shāhābād (14 Kos from Sarāi Mughal), Mughal Sarāi (15 kos from Sarāi Dehkhan), Phillaur Sarāi (11 kos from Sirhind), Fatehpoor Sarāi (7 kos from Sultānpūr Sarāi built by Shāh Salim), Dehkhān Sarāi (15 kos from Fatehābād), Khān Khāna Sarāi (17 kos from Chirmul) etc.[2]

The route was infested by robbers and thieves. Thevenot mentions 'Cunningest' robbers, infesting the road.[3] His description of their tricks and of the noose used by them to strangle their victims helps us to identify them with the dreaded thags.[4]

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1. Finch, Purchas IV, 47, Steel & Crowther, Purchas, IV,267.

2. Finch, Purchas, IV, 50-51,Steel & Crowther, Purchas,IV, 267-68, Tavernier, I, 77.

3. Thevenot, 57-58.

4. Ibid. They (robbers) had a slip with a 'running-noose' which they throw round the neck of a man and strangle him; or they sent a beautiful women who after gaining the sympathy from the traveller, mounted on his horse. She threw the "running-noose" round his neck, the rest was completed by the robbers who were hiding nearby.

Finch writes that from Narela onwards the route was "Theevish". He also says that "the Fosdar of Dely (faujdār of Delhi) with some 2 thousand house and foot (went) in their pursuit,who burnt their Townes and tooke them and theirs whatsoever he could get." Further when Finch and his fellow travellers entered Panipat they found," at the entry there of was placed a Manora, with the heads of some hundred theeves newly taken; their bodies set on stakes a mile in length."[1] Steel and Crowther too write that the highway was dangerous in the night for thieves, though in the day the road was secure.[2]

Other routes also radiated from Delhi. One led to Ajmer via Pataudi, Rewari, Kot-putli, Sambhar and Sursara.[3] The main highway (Shāhrāh) to Ahmedabad passed through Ajmer.[4]

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1. Finch, Purchas, IV, 49.
2. Steel & Crowther, Purchas, IV, 268.
3. Chahār-Gulshan 144b. Coryat, Early Travels, too had followed the same route.
4. Chahār Gulshan, 144b.

Delhi was connected with Kol (mod. Aligarh) as well. The route ran through Sikandarabad, Khurja and Chandaus.[1] On this Delhi-Kol route, there was a bridge on the Hindan, near Chhalera.[2]

In the east an important route connected Delhi with Banaras and Patna. It passes through Dasna, Hapur, Garh-Muktesar, Amroha, Moradabad, Bareilly and Shāhjahānpūr beyond which it entered the limits of the <u>sūba</u> of Awadh.[3] Muḥammad I'tibār 'Alī Khān, in the <u>Mir'āt-Ul-Ḥaqā'iq</u>, describes the route with the slight difference that, instead of passing through Amroha and Moradabad, he journeyed through Sambhal and Bareilly.[4] On this route there were two bridges near Hapur. One was on the Kālī Nadī[5] and the other on the Choiya.[6] Both were reportedly built by a Nānakpanthī saint Dargāhī.[7]

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1. Ibid, 146b.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid, 146a-b.
4. Ḥaqq Muḥammad I'tibār 'Alī Khān, <u>Mir'āt-Ul-Ḥaqā'iq</u> Ms. Bodl. Fraser - 124, f. 134 a-b. Cf. <u>Atlas</u>, 31, Sheet, 8b.
5. <u>Safarnāma-I-Mukhlis</u>, 15, <u>Chahār-Gulshan</u>, 146a.
6. <u>Chahār-Gulshan</u>, 146a.
7. Ibid.

Commerce :

The most important commodity exported from Delhi was chintz. It was exported to Persia and beyond, conveyed by Persian and Armemaian merchants.[1] Sirhind, too, exported chintz, again through Persian and Armenian merchants.[2]

The other type of cloth exported from the <u>sūba</u> was 'white-cotton cloth'. Panipat was one of the important centres of trade in this. From Panipat it was taken to Sirhind and also to Lahore.[3]

Samana also exported a large quantity of cloth. It was taken by the Persian and Armenian merchants to Isfahan etc. by way of Qandahar.[4] English factors also purchased Samana cloth.[5] It had a fairly good market in England.[6] Normally the English used to buy Samana cloth from Agra.[7]

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1. <u>EFI</u>, 1637-41, p.134; Manrique, II, 180.
2. <u>EFI</u>, 1637-41, p.134.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid, 135.
5. Ibid, 1624-29, p.149; 1642-45, p.204.
6. Ibid, 1618-21, p.168.
7. Ibid, 51.

But at Samana itself, English merchants could buy more cheaply and larger quantities; they could obtain the raw cloth and get it 'whited' as they did at Broach or they could buy it ready white as well.[1] William Biddulph, John Willoughby and Thomas Kerridge in 1619 advised the Company to station two merchants permanently at Samana.[2]

Robert Young, however, rejected the proposal in 1621 as in his opinion, it was unnecessary to open a permanent factory at Samana since, "Semmeanes can be bought as cheaply at Agra".[3] The difference in the cost of Samana cloth at Agra was about 5 to 10%.[4]

In 1619 English sent 14 fardles[5] of 'Samanaes' from Agra to Surat.[6] In 1620 Company bought 10,000 pieces of 'Semianoes'.[7] In 1621 English merchants bought 50 fardles

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1. Ibid, 1618-21, pp.XXI, 168.
2. Ibid, 168, 183.
3. Ibid, 257.
4. Ibid, 337.
5. 1 fardle= 4 <u>man-i-Akbarī</u>, Cf. <u>Agrarian System</u>, 378 fn.7.
6. Ibid, 73.
7. Ibid, 183.

of Samana calico. They wished to buy 20 fardles more in the same year.[1] In March, 1621 the English merchants spent Rs.1500 at Agra for buying Samana cloth.[2] In August 1621 Robert young bought 2000 pieces of narrow calicos and wished to buy 3000 more by Sept. 1621.[3] In Nov., 1621 finally 4000 pieces of Samana cloth was shipped to England.[4] In 1625, again, 4000 pieces of Samana cloth were sent to England.[4a]

In 1626 the Company ordered to discontinue their investments at Samana. However, Robert Tottle, English merchant stationed at Samana, showed his inability to discontinue to immediately since he had already given Samana cloth to the washers and also distributed Rs.2000 to the weavers who were expected to bring their goods within 10 days.[5] In 1627 the prices of indigo increased very much and the Company was pleased at the investments made by Tottles at Samana.[6]

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1. Ibid, 267.
2. Ibid, 234.
3. Ibid, 287.
4. Ibid, 323. 4a. Ibid, 1624-29, p.93.
5. Ibid, 1624-29, p.149.
6. Ibid, 173.

Inspite of such brisk demand for Samana cloth, it became difficult for the English to buy it in large quantities and at reasonable rates.[1] In January 1643 English factors could hardly procure any Samana cloth in time.[2] In Jan., 1644 Francis Breton and others complained that "Samana cloth was bespoake, but its excessive dearness hath almost, lost both the use and making of them, and so they have sent only 20 pieces for a muster."[3] In Nov. 1644 and also in 1645 they bought only one bale of Samana cloth from Agra.[4]

Portuguese merchants also engaged in cloth trade at Samana.[5] Francis Fettiplace reports to the English Company in 1618 that the Portuguese desired to purchase 10,000 pieces of 'Semianoes', though Fettiplace thought it would be difficult for them to arrange it.[6]

'Bafta' (a fine calico from Machhiwara) formed another important item among the exports of the sūba. English merchants brought some quantities from Machhiwara.[7]

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1. Ibid, 1642-45, p.204.
2. Ibid, 85.
3. Ibid, 137.
4. Ibid, 204, 233.
5. Ibid, 1618-21, p.46.
6. Ibid, 47.
7. Ibid, 51, 183; 1642-45, p.204, 304.

There was a good market for Machhiwara 'baftaes' outside India. English factors reports, "Matchawara, which, if not suitable for England, will readily vend at Basra, Mokha and other places."[1] It was, however, finer quality bafta which yielded considerable profits; the poorer quality had hardly any market outside.[2]

In 1619 the English Company wished to have 10,000 pieces of broad baftaes.[3] In 1620, 12,000 pieces of broad baftaes and 6000 pieces of narrow baftaes were boarded on ship for England.[4] In 1621, 80,000 pieces of narrow baftaes and 18,000 pieces of broad baftaes were ready for board.[5] In 1645 the total investments by the English at Machhiwara amounted to Rs.16,000.[6] In 1650, however, the Company decided not to buy Machhiwara cloth in future on account of "certain objections" raised against it.[7]

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1. Ibid, 1646-50, p.13.
2. Ibid, 100.
3. Ibid, 1618-21, p.51.
4. Ibid, 201.
5. Ibid, 323.
6. Ibid, 1642-45, p.304.
7. Ibid, 1646-50, p.316.

Bows, quivers, shoes, greaves (armour for legs) and sandals were sent from Sirhind to all parts of the Empire.[1] Similarly, Swords, scimitars, daggers, poniards and steel points for spears, pikes and javelins were sent from Sonepat to all the cities of the Empire.[2]

Some information on long distance trade in agricultural products has come to us.

Moradabad was good supplier of wheat, supplying even Lahore.[3] Good quality rice (sukhdās)was taken from Sirhind to Lahore.[4]

Maham exported good quality of sugar-candy to Sirhind.[5] Good quality sugar, little inferior to that of Agra, was brought from Serwerpore (?) to Sirhind.[6]

Ṣūba Delhi produced indigo, but the variety was not good enough for export. Mewat also had abundance of indigo

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1. Monserrate, 102.
2. Ibid, 98.
3. Khulāṣat-ul-Ṣiyāq, Ms.Br. Mus. Add. 6588 Rieu 11/799 f. 90b.
4. Ibid.
5. EFI, 1637-41, p.134.
6. Ibid.

and it met indigenous demand.[1]

Hissar produced good quality ghee which was sent to the royal kitchen.[2]

The English obtained sal ammoniac from Thanesar.[3] Later, however, they stopped purchasing it.[4]

Certain articles which were imported into the _sūba_. Among such commodities fruits come first. These were brought from as far as Persia, Balkh, Bokhara and Samarqand.[5] Almonds, pistachios, walnuts, raisins, prunes, apricots, fresh grapes, black and white, wrapped in cotton, pears, apples of three or four types and melons were also imported. But these were very expensive and were consumed only by the nobles.[6] Bernier comments that his "Agah (master) spend twenty crowns on fruit for his breakfast.[7]

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1. Pelsaert, 15.
2. _Ain_, I, 34.
3. Pelsaert, 46.
4. Ibid.
5. Bernier, 249.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.

Mangoes were imported from Bengal, Golkonda and Goa.[1]

It is difficult to find out the actual volume of trade but the importance of Delhi as a commercial centre is proved by the large number of silver rupees minted there.[2]

Bernier and later Dargāh Qulī Khān both give us an interesting account of the bāzārs of Delhi.[3] Shops were full of commodities specially cloth. Turbans, both embroidered with gold and silver brocade, were on sale.[4] The costly merchandize were usually kept in warehouses.[5]

Dargāh Qulī Khān writes of the splendeur of the jewellery shops of Chāndnī Chowk. The shops were filled with rubies and pearls. Sales were negotiated through brokers 'dallāls'. He writes that these brokers tried their best to attract the buyers. On the other, shopkeepers selling cloth and other articles attracted people by loud cries.[6]

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1. Bernier, 249.

2. See infra section on Mints of this Chapter.

3. Bernier, 248-252, Dargāh Qulī Khān, Muraqqai -Delhi, ed. & tr. Dr. Nurul Haq Ansari, Delhī, 1982, pp.37-39.

4. Bernier, 248.

5. Ibid.

6. Dargāh Qulī Khān, 38.

He also admired the beautiful articles on sale especially glass-wares with their colourful appearance and varied sizes and types.[1]

Even the hawkers (feriwālās) for whom he had every word of praise sold expensive commodities, the quality of which was not even found in the kārkhānas (workshops) of nobles.[2]

There were shops selling oil and butter, along with grain and pulses.[3]

There was well-supplied fruit-market but the prices were generally high. A single melon, says Bernier, was sold at one crown and a half.[4]

Mangoes were in abundance and hence cheap.[5]

Water-melons, too, were brought in large quantities and sold nearly the whole year round.[6]

The confectioners' shops were generally found to be in an unhygenic state, infested with flies and the sweet-

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1. Dargāh Qulī Khān, p.38.
2. Ibid.
3. Bernier, 248-9.
4. Ibid, 249.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid, 250.

meats did not suit Bernier's taste.[1] He says that bakers generally had defective ovens which spoilt the taste of bread.[2]

Meat was sold in every corner of the city. Bernier complains that the cooked meat sold in the bāzār was adulterated and comprised the meat of diseased camels, horses and oxen. He also complains that usually goats' flesh was given out by the shopkeepers as mutton.[3] Even the goat's flesh was of she-goat, which was hard and hence tasteless.[4] Meat was costly also. Bernier writes, 'I had been for years in the habit of living by stealth and artifice, and that the one hundred and fifty crowns, which he (master) gave me monthly would not otherwise keep me from starving, although in France I could for half a rupie eat every day as good meat as the king".[5]

There was ample supply of fowls. Pigeons were also sold.[6] Partridges (smaller than the European ones), ducks and hares were brought alive from the distance.[7]

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid, 251.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid, 252.

Generally speaking, Bernier says that the markets were ill supplied with food and contain "the refuse of the grandees".[1] Similarly, fish could not be easily obtained.[2]

Bernier comments on the high cost of living at Delhi: "my pay is considerable, nor am I sparing of money; yet does it often happen that I have not where withal to satisfy the cravings of hunger".[3] Dargāh Qulī Khān also gives an exaggerated account of a young noble whose mother gave him 2 lacs of rupees to make purchases in Chandni Chowk, but he was able to purchase only the essential things.[4]

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1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Dargāh Qulī Khān, 38-39.

3. Mints :

Much has already been written on the mints of the Mughal Empire and their organisation.[1] Mughal currency was of standard weight and never debased; moreover, it achieved and maintained remarkable uniformity all over the Empire.[2]

The Mughal currency was "free" in the sense that anyone could get metal minted into coin at charge.[3] Values of the gold, silver and copper coins were thus affected by local variations in supply of the particular metals. The total charges taken for issuing a silver coin amounted to about 5.6 per cent.[4]

To assess the number of active mints within the ṣūba and variation in coin-output in different periods; I have prepared a list of the number of coins from different

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1. S.H. Hodivala, Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics, Bombay, 1976; Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, 380-394; Aziza Hasan, Mints of the Mughal Empire, PIHC, Patiala Session, 1967; Tapan Raychaudhri and Irfan Habib, Cambridge Economic History of India, vol. I, Delhi, 1984, pp.360-370; M.P. Singh, Town, Market, Mint and Port in the Mughal Empire, 1556-1707, Delhi, 1985, pp. 168-91.

2. Hodivala, 131-32.

3. Ibid.

4. Āin, I, 32.

mints of the _sūba_ preserved in the various catalogued collections.[1] The list is given decade-wise, from 1556 to 1719 A.D.

An examination of the list suggests that from the late years of Shāhjahān's reign the Delhi mint began to coin gold as well, though previously this was rare, confined perhaps to periods when the court happened to be at Delhi. Once the capital was fixed at Delhi under Shāhjahān its mint surpassed Lahore and Agra in ultering gold.

Under Akbar four mints issued silver coins within the limits of the _sūba_, viz. Delhi, Hissār Fīrūza, Nārnaul and Bairat.[2] The _Āʾīn_ mentions only the Delhi mint as

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1. C.J. Brown, _Catalogue of coins in the State Museum_ Lucknow, vol. II, Oxford, 1920; C.R. Singhal, _Supplementary Catalogue of Mughal coins in the State Museum Lucknow_, Lucknow, 1965; Nelson Wright, _Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta_, vol. III, Oxford, 1908; Shamsuddin Ahmad, _A Supplement to Volume Third of the Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta_, Delhi, 1939; R.B. Whitehead, _Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum Lahore_, vol. II, Oxford, 1914; Lane Pool, _Coins of the Mughal Emperors of Hindustan in the British Museum_, London, 1892; V.P. Rode, _Catalogue of Coins in the Central Museum Nagpur_, vol. I, Bombay, 1969; M.K. Husain, _Catalogue of Coins of the Mughal Emperors_, Bombay, 1968; A.K. Srivastava, _Coin Hoards of U.P._ 1882-1979, Lucknow, 1980; Personal Collection of Dr. Shireen Moosvi of the coins of the State Museum Lucknow. I am thankful to Dr. Moosvi who allowed me to use her persohal collection.

2. _Pargana_ Nārnaul and Bairat weree earlier within Agra _suba_. They were incorporated in the Delhi _sūba_, during Shāhjahān's reign.

issuing silver in 1595 within the limits of the Delhi sūba.[1] This is perhaps a slip; Bairat issued a fairly good number of silver coins after 1595 and it continued to issue silver till 1616-24. Nārnaul was also an important silver mint under Akbar. Under Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān the importance of Nārnaul declined and we find no silver issues from Nārnaul during the period. Under Aurangzeb it revived and after 1675 it uttered considerable silver. In the decade 1686-1695 it seems to have surpassed the output of Agra, Bareilly and Saharanpur mints.

Hissār Fīrūza issued silver coins only in the early years of Akbar's reign and its importance as a silver-mint declined by 1565.

All the silver-mints of the sūba were overshadowed by Delhi. A study of the coin-output of Delhi, Agra and Lahore mints shows that Agra and Lahore held a dominant position over Delhi before 1665.[2] But after 1665 the silver output of the Delhi mint exceeded that of the Agra and Lahore mints. Aziza Hasan says that even during the reign of Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb when Shāhjahānābād became the

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1. Āʾīn, I, 27.

2. Exception being Lahore mint in 1696-1705 and Agra in 1706-1715.

capital and thus the largest administrative centre "the relative contribution of the Delhi mint individually and of the whole <u>ṣūba</u> are poor, being much less than Agra".[1] But her own figures[2] (also see the Table) show that while till 1656 this was the case, from 1656 onwards the situation altered radically.

The coin-output of the Delhi <u>ṣūba</u> shows that after the building of Shāhjahānābād, the importance of Delhi as a <u>ṣūba</u> and of Delhi city as a town increased greatly. We find some new mints established such as Bareilly, Saharanpur, Sirhind and Moradabad. This suggests that these towns emerged as important commercial centres. All these mints were situated on the important trade-routes: Nārnaul and Bairat on Delhi-Ahmedabad; Sirhind on Delhi-Lahore; and Moradabad on Delhi-Patna route.

The <u>Āīn</u> mentions nine mints where copper was struck viz. Delhi, Badāūn, Hardwar, Hissār-Fīrūza, Sirhind, Saharanpur, Singhana Udaipur, Raipur and Sambhal.[3] No copper-coins of Hardwar, Raipur and Badāūn mints appear to have survived. On the other hand, the <u>Āīn</u> also does not mention the Nārnaul mint which in fact issued a fairly large number of copper coins.

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1. Aziza Hasan, <u>PIHC</u>, 1967, p.330.
2. Ibid, 333-337.
3. <u>Āīn</u>, I, 27, 442.

The number of Copper mints sharply declined under Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān. The copper issues of only three mints (Delhi, Nārnaul and Bairat) appear in the catalogues. Even the coin output seems to have declined and we find that during Aurangzeb's reign, though the Delhi mint issued copper coins till the decade 1666-75, the Bairat mint stopped doing so, and we have no copper issue of that mint after 1646. Nārnaul's copper coin output declined sharply after 1596-05, though it continued to issue copper coins till 1682. After 1685 all the mints of the Delhi sūba stopped coining copper.

The sharp decline in the number of copper mints might have been due to the replacement of the dām as a fractional piece by the silver ānna from Shāhjahān's reign onwards.

But here we are faced with another puzzle. Since the dām was replaced by the silver ānna, there should have been a rise in the number of silver mints. But, we find a decline in the number of silver mints as well. By Jahāngīr's reign Nārnaul ceased to function and even the Bairat mint stopped striking silver. During Shāhjahān's reign it was only the Delhi mint which issued silver coins. Besides, we also do not find any relative spurt in the coin-output of Delhi silver-mint.

The subsequent increase in the number of silver mints under Aurangzeb indicates a reversal of this trend with a much larger silver output in the Delhi city as well as the Delhi sūba. What cannot be adequately explained at the moment is thus the dip in silver minting in the Delhi sūba during the first half of the 17th century. At best one can say that it may have been a regional phenomenon, since the Agra mint shows no such decline.

SURVIVING COINS

from Delhi *sūba* Mints (and from Agra and Lahore)

in Catalogued Collections

Mints GOLD	1556-65	1566-75	1576-85	1586-95	1596-05	1606-15	1616-25	1626-35	1636-45	1646-55	1656-65	1666-75	1676-85	1686-95	1696-05	1706-15	1715-19
Delhi	1	14	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	9	7	9	13	11	30	20
Sirhind	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bareilly	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Agra	11	50	11	-	11	32	33	17	9	8	3	-	3	3	1	8	5
Lahore	2	26	8	-	1	5	1	2	2	1	-	-	1	1	2	2	2
SILVER																	
Delhi	21	18	138	52 1/20	49 1/2	58	61	56	3	12 1/2	36	66	139	136	125	83	82
Narnaul	6	7	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	64	1	1	-
Bareilly	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	36	88	55	24
Hissar	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
Sirhind	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19	33	9	11
Saharanpur	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-
Bairata	-	-	-	-	34	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Moradabad	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Agra	22	73	90	4	29	63	75	199 5/9	60	51	34	30 1/4	39	30	106	114	41
Lahore	12	34	45 3/4	131	295	306 1/2	170	152 1/12	111 5/6	84 1/4	67	35	80	105	114	63	33
COPPER																	
Delhi	18 1/4	30 3/4	15	43 1/6	34	5 1/2	2	2	3	-	12	14	-	-	-	-	-
Narnaul	74	72	37	30	15	2	-	2	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-
Hissar	11	3	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Saharanpur	-	-	7	11	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sirhind	-	1	5	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bairata	1	20	1	5	38	36	7	16	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sambhal	-	-	-	2	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Agra	15 1/2	28 1/2	47 3/4	12	29	40	2	5	6	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-
Lahore	6	28	45 1/2	49 1/4	10 3/4	5	1	-	1	-	3	3	-	-	2	-	-

Chapter 10

CITY OF SHĀHJAHĀNĀBĀD

Humāyūn was the first Mughal Emperor to make Delhi his capital. After his return from Gwalior he started the construction of his new capital "Dīn-Panāh" in the month of Muḥarram 940 AH/July-August 1533.[1]

It is now difficult to trace the remains of "Dīn-Panāh". Khwāndmīr says that the site was chosen adjacent to the river Yamuna at a distance of around 3 kurohs (about 7 miles) from the old city (Quṭb-Delhi).[2] Abūl Faẓl says that Humāyūn restored the fort of "Indrapat" and named it "Dīn-Panāh".[3] The plan was to build a seven-storied palace.[4] We do not know how far this was carried into effect. According to Khwāndmīr, by Shawwāl 940 AH/April-May 1534, the walls, bastions, ramparts and the gates of the city of 'Dīn-Panāh' were nearly completed.[5] Shihābuddīn Aḥmad

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1. Ghayas-uddīn Muḥammad Khwāndmīr, Qānūn-i-Humāyūnī, ed. Muḥammad Hidāyat Ḥusain 'Afullāh, Calcutta, 1940, pp.84-85.

2. Ibid, 85.

3. Ā'īn, I, 514.

4. Khwāndmīr, 84.

5. Ibid, 85-86.

Mu'amai' wrote a chronogram for the date of its construction, Shahr-i-Bādshāh-i-Dīn-Panāh, 'City of the King, Protector of the Faith' yielding the year 940 AH/1533 -34.[1]

Sher Shāh is said to have built a new city at 'Shergarh' within Delhi. 'Abbās Khān Sarwānī says that on account of the distance of the old city from the river Yamuna, a new city had to be built on the bank of Yamuna.[2] 'Abdullāh, author of Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī writes that Sher Shāh destroyed the city of 'Alā'uddīn Khaljī in 1540-41 and built another on the bank of Yamuna, between Fīrozābād and Kilukhari, in the village of Indrapat, 2-3 kurohs (5-7 miles) distant from the old one.[3]

These statements make it clear that Humāyūn's 'Dīn-Panāh' and Sher Shāh's 'Shergarh' were identical, though this is not expressly stated.[4] Carr Stephen indeed believed that "the gates of the fort were built by Humāyūn, and that the buildings inside the fort belong to the reign

1. Khwāndmīr, 84.

2. 'Abbās Khān Sarwānī, Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī, Ethe-219, 1.0.218, f.109b.

3. 'Abdullāh, Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī, ed. Shaikh Abdur Rashid, Aligarh, 1954, p.148.

4. Abū'l Fazl say that Humāyūn "restored the fort of Indrapat" and renamed it Dīn Panāh. (Ā'īn, I, 514); 'Abdullāh, in his Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī (148) also places Sher Shāh's Shergarh in the village of Indrapat.

of Sher Shāh Sūr.[1] However, Sher Shāh could not complete the work because of his early death.[2] Shergarh is indisputably the Purāna Qila.

Inside the fort Sher Shāh constructed a Jama' Masjid.[3] The mosque was built of stone inlaid with red gold and red lepiz-lazuli, which cost a great amount of money to the exchequer.[4] 'Abdullāh praises the great length, breadth and height of the fort and says that the fort was completed very quickly.[5]

Sher Shāh also started the construction of a small palace 'Sher Mandal (Manzil?) within the fort which too he could not complete.[6] It is believed that Humāyūn used 'Sher Mandal' as his library.[7]

In the year 953 AH/1546-47 AD Islām Shāh built the fort of Salim-garh on the bank of the Yamuna.[8] This still

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1. Carr Stephen, Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi, Allahabad, 1967, p.184.
2. Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī, 149, 'Abbās Khān, 110a.
3. Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī, 149; 'Abbās Khān, 109b-110a.
4. 'Abbās Khān, 109b-110a.
5. Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī, 149.
6. Ibid.
7. Carr Stephen, 194.
8. Aḥmad Yādgār, Tārīkh-i-Shāhī, ed. Hidayat Husain, Calcutta, 1939, p.256, Khwāja Niamatullāh, Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahānī wa Makhzan-i-Afghānī, ed. S.M. Imamuddin Dacca, 1960, vol. I, p.370; Jahāngīr Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī, ed. Syed Ahmad, Aligarh, 1864, p.65.

survives with its buildings ruined, but wall standing, immediately to the east of the Red Fort. According to a later account, it cost four lacs of rupees and took five years to complete. However, Islām Shāh could only complete the walls of the fort before his death in 1555.[1] Later, Akbar gave Salim-garh to Shaikh Murtaza Khān who had built a terrace of stone on the bank of the river. Below it, there was a square chaukandī which had been built by Humāyūn where he often sat with his close consellors.[2] Jahāngīr built a bridge of five arches over a channel of the Yamuna facing the gate of Salimgarh in the 17th R.Y. (1031 AH/1621-22 AD).[3] After that he renamed the fort 'Nūrgarh'.[4]

During Akbar's reign Ḥājī Begum, wife of Humāyūn constructed a sarāi called ʿArab sarāi in the year 968 AH/ 1560-61.[5] Maham Angā also built a madarsa and a mosque

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1. ʿAbdur Rahmān Shāh Nawāz Khān, Mirāt-i-Āftābnumā, Abdus Salam Collection, 353/123, A.M.U., 367.

2. Tuzuk, 65.

3. Inscriptions on the eastern and western sides. Cf. Mirzā Sangeen Beg, Sair-ul-Manāzil, Delhi, 1982,p.11; Syed Aḥmad Khān, Āsār-us-Sanādid, Delhi, 1965, p.427.

4. Āsār-us-Sanādid, 96.

5. Carr Stephen, 198-9. The eastern gate of the sarāi was built by Mihārban ʿAgha, a patron of Jahāngīr. Inscription Cf. Ibid.

in the year 969 AH/1561-62 AD.[1] Shihābuddīn Aḥmad Khān assisted her in the work.[2] The most important building erected during Akbar's reign in Delhi was of course, Humāyūn's Tomb. Ḥājī Begum, wife of Humāyūn, laid the foundation and it was completed in 1569 at the cost of 15 lacs of rupees.[3]

Father Monserrate observed in 1581 that, "Delinum is note-worthy for its public-buildings, remarkable fort (built by Emamumus [Humāyūn]), its walls and a number of mosques; especially the one said to have been built by King Peruzium (Fīroz Shāh Tughluq)."[4]

Though Abū'l Faẓl praises Delhi for its magnificent monuments he says that it was for "most part in ruins. The cemeteries are, however, populous".[5] This suggests that by the time of the compilation of the Āīn Delhi was largely in ruins.

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1. Inscription Cf. Ibid, p.200.
2. Ibid.
3. Mir'āt-i-Āftābnumā, 385, Āṡār-us-Sanādīd, 254.
4. Monserrate, 97.
5. Ā'īn, I, 514.

Finch, writing in 1611 gives the following description of the city: "the city (Sher Shāh's Delhi) is 2 c. (kos) betweeneGate and Gate, begirt with a strong wall, but much ruinate, as are many goodly houses: within and about this citie are the Tombes of twenty Potan Kings, all very faire and stately".[1]

According to an inscription the Bārah-Pula bridge was constructed in the 7th R.Y. of Jahāngīr 1021 AH/1612-13 AD.[2] It spans a large nullah flowing into the Yamuna near the southern gateway of Humāyūn's tomb.[3] The bridge was on the main Agra-Delhi route; but its construction indicates some local traffic as well.

A great accession in importance of Delhi occurred when Shāhjahān decided to shift his capital from Agra. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ says that Delhi and Lahore were most suitable but, since, Lahore had never been the capital earlier, Delhi was chosen, especially because it was situated between Lahore and Agra.[4]

Shāhjahān's decision to shift from Agra, says Ṣāliḥ, was due to the latter city's narrow streets and broken

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1. William Finch, Purchas, vol. IV, 48.
2. Inscription Cf. Āsār-us-Sanādid, 426, Carr Stephen, 209-10. It was built by Miharban Āgha.
3. Carr Stephen, 209-10.
4. Ṣāliḥ, III, 26-27.

ground, as well as its great crowds, especially on festive occasions which collected there.[1] Bernier and Tavernier however, say that the excessive heat of Agra and the more temperate climate of Delhi led Shāhjahān to shift his capital.[2]

After prolonged discussion a site along river Yamuna near Nūrpūr (Salimgarh) was chosen[3], between the hillocks known as Bhojla and Jugla.[4] Astrologers chose an auspicions day for laying the foundation of the fort, which was done on 9th Muḥarram 1048 AH (23rd Urdībihisht)/ 23rd May 1638, on the night of Friday, five hours and 12 minutes (astronomical).[5]

The construction took place under the supervision of Ustād Aḥmad and Ustād Ḥāmid, the chief architects.[6] Expert masons, carpenters and embrossers were summoned from all over the country to work at the fort.[7]

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1. Ibid, 27.

2. Bernier 241, J.B. Tavernier, Travels in India, ed. William Crooke, London, 1925, 78.

3. Wāriṣ, 38; Ṣāliḥ, III, 27.

4. W. Francklin, History of the Reign of Shah-Aulum, London, 1798, p.208.

5. Wāriṣ, 38; Ṣāliḥ, III, 28.

6. Carr Stephen (216) has wrongly given the name Hīrā.

7. Wāriṣ, 38; Ṣāliḥ, III, 28.

The charge of the entire work was entrusted to Ghairat Khān[1], brother of ʿAbdullāh Khān Bahādur Fīroz Jung, who was then, the governor of Delhi.[2] He worked for four months when he was transferred to the governorship of Thatta, by which time the foundation of the fort had been laid.[3]

Ghairat Khān being succeeded by Ilahwardī Khān as governor.[4] He remained incharge of building construction for a little over the two years. During his tenure the wall of the fort on the side of the river Yamuna was raised upto 12 gaz.[5]

During this period Shāhjahān used to come and supervise the work and sometimes suggested changes. Lāhorī says that in 16th R.Y. (14 Shawwāl 1052 AH/5 Jan. 1643 AD) Emperor visited the fort and gave orders to Mukarmat Khān to make certain alterations.[6] Shāhjahān visited Delhi on 4th Zaī-ul Ḥijja 1056 AH/11 Jan.1647 AD. By this time the

1. Carr Stephen (216) wrongly mentions the name of the founder Izzat Khān.

2. Wāriṡ, 38; Ṣāliḥ, III, 29.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Wāriṡ, 40; Ṣāliḥ, III, 29.

6. Lāhorī, II, 320.

fort was near its completion; and he made a few modifications. He also appointed 'Āqil Khān and Yusuf Khān to speed up the work of construction.[1]

The construction of the fort was completed by 24 Rabī'-ul Awwal, 1058 AH/18 April, 1648 AD under Mukarmat Khān, the then governor of Delhi.[2] The Emperor entered the fort from the side of the river Yamuna, going to Shāh Maḥal, on 8 April 1648 A.D.[3]

Shāhjahān rewarded the two architects (Aḥmad and Ḥāmid) with grants of land near the Jama'-Masjid over which they could construct their havelīs (houses).[4] The kūchās named after them still exist in old Delhi.[5]

The Red Fort built by Shāhjahān has four gates, two wickets and 21 bastions out of which seven were round and fourteen octagonal. As planned, it was 1000 gaz long, 600 gaz broad and 25 gaz high. The total area covered was 6,00,000 sq. gaz and the circumference 3,300 gaz. The wall

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1. Wāriṣ, 28.
2. Wāriṣ, 40; Ṣāliḥ, III, 29-30.
3. Ṣāliḥ, III, 58; Shaikh Muḥammad Baqā, Mir'āt-ul-'Ālam, Abdus Salam, 84/314, A.M.U., f. 78a.

4. Dīwān-i-Mahandiz of Ḥāfiz Luṭfullāh Mahandiz, Cf. Maheshwar Dayal, Rediscovering Delhi, Delhi, 1975, p.3.

5. Rediscovering Delhi, 3.

and the towers of the fort were built of red-sandstone.[1] The Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā' says that the red-sandstone used here, was brought from quarries at Fatehpur Sikri.[2] The marble for the hauz (tank) was brought from the Makrana quarries in Rajasthan.[3] Manucci adds that the ruins of ancient Delhi and Tughluqābād were explored for materials.[4]

The construction of the city wall was started in the 24th R.Y. The wall was built hurriedly of rubble within four months. But the very next year a sections of the wall fell down owing to heavy rains. In the 26th R.Y. again a fresh wall with stone and lime-mortar was constructed. It was 6,364 yards (dira) long and had 6 big and five small gates and seven towers. It cost four lakhs of rupees.[5] Bernier says that, except on the side of the river the fort was "defended by a deep ditch faced with hewn stone, filled with water and stocked with fish".[6] Manucci adds that barring the river side the city wall was one half of brick and the rest of stone.[7]

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1. Ṣāliḥ, III, 32.
2. Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā', III, 464.
3. Ṣāliḥ, III, 41, Cf. Wāris, 54 (marble brought from a distance of 100 kurohs).
4. Manucci, vol. I, 183.
5. Wāris, 378.
6. Bernier, 243.
7. Manucci, I, 184.

The fort was not, perhaps, seriously meant as a great military work. Though Bernier is full of praise for the fort, he says that "considerable as these works may appear their real strength is by no means great, and in my opinion a battery of moderate force would soon level them with the ground".[1]

The chief buildings of the fort were those of the Ḥayāt Bakhsh garden with ḥammām, commonly known as Sāwan-Bhādon pavillion; Imtiyāẓ Maḥal along with sleeping chamber (Shāh Maḥal); the Dīwān-i Khās-o-Ām; the Palaces of Jahānārā Begum and other royal ladies and the Burj-i-ma'rūf (Shāh Burj).[2] All these buildings were in one line. These buildings have been described by many modern authorities, and the descriptions need not be repeated.[3]

The fort was surrounded on all sides by a large flower garden.[4] Towards the right and left sides of the fort there were large houses of the Princes and 'Omarahs'.[5] A few of them were said to have cost 1 to 20 lacs of

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1. Bernier, 243.

2. Wāris̤, 54.

3. Carr Stephen, Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi, Allahabad, 1967; H.C. Franshawe, Delhi - Past and Present, London, 1902; Gordon Sanderson, "Shāhjahān's Fort, Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India, 1911-12, pt. II, R.E. Frykenberg, Delhi Through the Ages, Delhi, 1986.

4. Bernier, 243.

5. Ṣāliḥ, III, 45; Bernier, 246-47.

of rupees.[1] The houses of the Hindūs (Hindū officials or merchants, presumably) were 6 to 7 stories high.[2] Alongside the big houses there were a large number of small houses.[3]

The most outstanding building outside the fort constructed during Shāhjahān's reign was the Jāmaʿ Masjid. The construction of the Jāmaʿ Masjid began in the year 1060 AH/1650 AD under the supervision of Saʿdullāh Khān and Fāẓil Khān. It took six years to complete and cost 10 lacs of rupees.[4]

In 1650 two mosques were constructed by Shāhjahān's wives: one was the Fateḥpurī mosque built by Fateḥpurī Begum.[5] There is a kara (street) near the mosque which was also laid out by her.[6] The other mosque was the Akbarābādī mosque (63 x 17½ gaz) constructed by Akbarābādī Begum in 1650. It has a big tank (12 x 12 gaz) which was filled by water from canals. It also has a ḥammām and a sarāʾi (154 x 104 gaz).[7] It is said to have cost Rs.1,50,000

1. Ṣāliḥ, III, 45.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ṣāliḥ, III, 52; Mirʾāt-ul-ʿĀlam, 86a.
5. Ṣāliḥ, III, 48.
6. Sair-ul-Manāzil, 42.
7. Ṣāliḥ, III, 48-49.

to the exchequer.[1] Sirhindī Begum, another wife of Shāhjahān also constructed a mosque in front of the Lahore gate of the city in 1650.[2]

To the north of the Chāwṛī bāzār Shāhjahān constructed a hospital for travellers where drugs and medicines were provided to them.[3] Near the Delhi gate there was built the "Dali-wālī" mosque, in the year 1064 AH/1654-55 AD.[4]

Aurangzeb added the Pearl mosque in the Fort in 1662-63. It took five years to build and cost Rs.1,60,000.[5] It was constructed under the supervision of ʿĀqil Khān. Aurangzeb also built barbicans in front of the Delhi and Lahore gates of the Fort.[6]

Near the Kabul gate of the city there are the mosque and tomb of Zeb-un-Nisa Begum built in 1702.[7] Towards the Lahore gate there is a mosque built by Aurangābādī Begum, wife of Aurangzeb, in 1703.[8] Aurangzeb's daughter Zinat-un-

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1. Ṣāliḥ, III, 49.
2. Carr Stephen, 259.
3. Sair-ul-Manāzil, 18-19.
4. Ibid, 28.
5. ʿĀlamgīrnāma, 467-70.
6. Carr Stephen, 237.
7. Maāsir, 462; Sair-ul-Manāzil, 33-34, 46-47.
8. Āsār-us-Sanādid, 299.

Nisa Begum built a mosque and a mausoleum for herself ı. Ghata gate (in mod. Daryāganj) in 1122 AH/1710-11 AD.[1]

Among other important buildings erected during Aurangzeb's reign are; Khalīl-ullāh Khān's masjid near Ajmer gate of the city, built in the year 1670-71[2]; a mosque near the Turkman gate built by Ṣāliḥ Bahādur, son of Ḥusain in 1676-77[3]; the Qāẓī mosque, to the north of the Lahore gate of the fort built in the year 1679-80.[4]

There are two principal streets leading to the fort; one leading from the Lahore gate and the other from the Akbarābādī gate (now Delhi gate) of the city.[5] The street towards the Lahore gate of the city is now known as Chāndnī Chowk. It was 40 gaz broad and 1520 gaz long. It had two squares, one at the distance of 480 gaz, measuring 80 x 80 gaz; the other was an octagonal square 100 x 100 gaz near Jahanara Begum's garden, built in the "Baghdādī" style.[6]

1. Inscription Cf. Carr Stephen, 263. Carr Stephen (261-63) has wrongly converted 1122 AH = 1700. It should be 1710-11.
2. Sair-ul-Manāzil, 19.
3. Ibid, 25.
4. Ibid, 34, 179.
5. Ṣāliḥ, III, 47-48; Bernier, 243-46, Tavernier, 79.
6. Ṣāliḥ, III, 47.

Another major street ran from the south gate of the fort in the direction of Agra (the street is now known as Faiẓ Bāzār). It was 1050 <u>qaz</u> long and 30 <u>qaz</u> broad.[1]

Bernier writes that the streets "run in a straight line, nearly as far as the eye can reach, but the one leading to the Lahore gate is much longer. In regard to houses, the two streets are exactly alike."[2]

In front of the Lahore gate of the Fort was the Urdū Bāzār[3], and, facing the Delhi gate of the Fort, Nawāb Sa'dullāh Khān's Chowk.[4] To the west of Sa'dullāh Khān's Chowk was the <u>Khās</u> Bāzār, and to the south of the Chowk, the Kāshmīrī <u>katrah</u>.[5]

Bernier mentions five other streets which were not so well planned as the two major streets.[6] He speaks of "the numberless streets which cross each other, many have arcades; but having been built at different periods by individuals who paid no regard to symmetry, very few are

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1. Ṣāliḥ, III, 48.
2. Bernier, 245.
3. <u>Sair-ul-Manāzil</u>, 34, 39.
4. Ibid, 11-12.
5. Ibid.
6. Bernier, 246.

so well built, so wide or so straight as those I have described".[1]

Francklin writing in late 18th century observed that, though, houses are good, streets are in general narrow, "as is the case with all other cities of Asia".[2]

In order to supply water to the Fort and City of Shāhjahānābād the Emperor decided to lay out a new canal, the Nahr-i-Faiz, or what the English came to call the Western Jumna Canal. The details of the course of this canal have been given in Chapter 2; here we are concerned with the way it supplied water to the new city.

The canal entered the city near the Kabul Gate and flowed straight to Begum Jahānārā's garden and sarāi.[3] Thence it passes through, with little variations, to the later sites of Begum Samrū's house and Nawāb Safdar Jang's Palace.[4] Here, it passed under a bridge known as "Kodia Pul". Thereafter the canal presumably flowed into the ditch of the Fort. Under the Shāh Burj the water was apparently lifted from it into the Fort; there being two tanks at the

1. Bernier, 246.

2. Francklin, 206-7.

3. Sair-ul-Manāzil, 35, 44.

4. Ibid, 43.

Burj. Thence the water was distributed through different channels inside the Fort.[1]

The Canal after entering the City near the Kabul Gate threw off a branch running through Jahānārā's garden. It supplied water to the tank of the Fateḥpurī mosque.[2] The branch then turned and ran in an acqueduct down the middle of the Chāndnī Chowk.[3] The acqueduct apparently ran up to the Fort, running past the Lahore Gate into the "Naqqār k͟hāna".[4] From here the canal divided into channels running northwards to the royal gardens and southwards to the Delhi Gate throwing off many small sub-channels.[5] Manucci writes that in these water channels Shāhjahān "ordered some beautiful fish to be thrown with gold rings in their heads, each ring having one ruby and two seed-pearls".[6]

The water of the canal circulated all through the fort except towards the riverside.[7]

A branch again took off from the Chandni Chowk acqueduct southwards, for Ṣāliḥ says that the Nahr-i-Faiẓ

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1. Sair-ul-Manāzil, 10.
2. Ṣāliḥ, III, 48.
3. Sair-ul-Manāzil, 35; Francklin, 207.
4. Sair-ul-Manāzil, 9; Carr Stephen, 220.
5. Carr Stephen, 220.
6. Manucci, I, 184.
7. Ibid, 185.

supplied water to the tank of the Akbarābādī mosque, from where the water flowed back into the canal.[1] Though there is no statement to this effect in the sources, this branch of the canal seems to have run down the 'Faiẓ Bāzār' passing by the Delhi Gate of the city. Then turning eastward, it flowed into the Yamuna in a channel whose traces survive.

The construction of the Fort and the Canal involved heavy expenditure to the imperial exchequer.[2] Muḥammad Wāriṣ[3] and Ṣādiq Khān[4] say that 60 lacs of rupees were spent in the construction of the inner-buildings of the Fort. However, Lāhorī[5], Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ[6] and an inscription on the northern arch of the Dīwān-i-Ām[7] state that the cost of the construction of the Fort amounted to 50 lacs of rupees, barring the cost of the Jāmaʿ masjid. Wāriṣ gives us a detailed break-up

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1. Ṣāliḥ, III, 46, 49.

2. Shireen Moosvi, 'Expenditure on Buildings under Shāhjahān - A Chapter of Imperial Finance History', PIHC, Amritsar Session, 1985, pp.285-299.

3. Wāriṣ, 54.

4. Muḥammad Ṣādiq Khān, Tawārīkh-i-Shāhjahānī, Br. Mus. Or. 174 Rieu ii/262a, 79b.

5. Lāhorī II, 714.

6. Ṣāliḥ, III, 32.

7. Inscription Cf. Carr Stephen, 235.

of the cost of the construction of each building:[1]

		Rs.
Imerial Palaces		28,00,000
Shāh Maḥal	14,00,000	
Imtiyāẓ Maḥal (including sleeping chambers and surrounding structures)	5,50,000	
Daūlat Khāna-i-Khās-o-Ām	2,50,000	
Ḥayāt Bakhsh (including Ḥammām)	6,00,000	
	28,00,000	
Palace of Jahānārā Begum and other royal ladies		7,00,000
Bāzārs and Chowk within the Fort for imperial kārkhānas		4,00,000
The Fort along with the ditch (moat)		21,00,000
		60,00,000

The above expenditure does not include the expenditure on decoration. Nine lacs of rupees were spent on the decoration of the ceiling of the Ghusalkhāna done in gold.[2] A shāmiāna (tent-hall) was erected in the Dīwān-i-khās, and this cost 1 lac of rupees. It was brought from Ahmedabad.[3]

1. Wāriṡ, 54.

2. Ṣāliḥ, III, 35.

3. Ibid, 56.

Another Shāmiāna, also brought from Gujarat, in 1651 was erected in the Dīwān-i-Khās. It cost Rs.80,000 to the exchequer.[1]

The city wall which was constructed later in the 24th R.Y. cost Rs.1,50,000. Its 6 big and 5 small gates cost a further 4 lacs of rupees.[2]

Barring the cost of construction of the Fort Shāhjāhān also gave money to the princes for the construction of their houses (havelīs) in the environs of the Fort. In 1650-51 two lacs of rupees were given to Dārā Shukōh for the construction of his house for which he had already previously received two lacs of rupees.[3] Ṣāliḥ says that the cost of building houses of the Princes and Umarā ranged from 1 to 20 lacs of rupees.[4]

Among the construction works carried outside the Fort the Jāmaʿ Masjid alone cost Rs. 10 lacs.[5] The Nahr-i-Bihisht was constructed at the cost of Rs. 2 lacs.[6] In the construction of Begum Akbarābādī mosque and sarāʾī along

1. Wāriṣ, 159.
2. Ṣāliḥ, III, 378.
3. Ibid,118.
4. Ibid, 45.
5. Ibid, 52.
6. Ibid, 116.

with a tank Rs.1,50,000 were spent.[1] The construction of the Idgāh outside the Lahore gate of the city cost Rs.50,000.[2]

During the reign of Aurangzeb, again, much money was spent in the Fort. Aurangzeb constructed the Pearl mosque which cost, according to Muḥammad Kāẓim, Rs.1,60,000 to the exchequer.[3]

The people of Delhi presented sharp contrasts. While there were Umarā and manṣabdārs who resided in big houses and enjoyed all possible luxuries of life, the common people lived in houses of mud and thatched roofs. Writing during Akbar's reign Father Monserrate observed that "the common people live in lowly huts and tiny cottages..."[4] According to Thevenot, the ordinary houses were "but of earth and canes".[5] Bernier says that along with different (big) houses there "is an immense number of small ones, built of mud and thatched with straw".[6] He says, in a well-known

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1. Ṣāliḥ, III, 49.
2. Wāriṡ, 308.
3. 'Ālamgīrnāma, 469.
4. Monserrate, 219.
5. Thevenot, 60.
6. Bernier, 246.

sentence, that at Delhi there could be "no middle state". A man must either be of the highest rank or live miserably.[1] He called Delhi a military encampment or a collection of many villages".[2] Thevenot also says that during Emperor's stay there was "an extra-ordinary croud in the streets", otherwise it looks "to be a Desart".[3] To consider Delhi a mere military camp was perhaps an exaggeration, though certainly Delhi's importance derived very largely from its being the seat of the court after the construction of the Red Fort.

Before it became Shāhjahān's capital city, Delhi still had a sizable merchant class. Monserrate observed that "Delinum is inhabited by substantial and wealthy Brachmanae, and of course by a Mongol garrison."[4] Bernier gives a vivid description of the merchants, and of their dwelling houses. Rich merchants lived mixed with the mansabdār, petty omarahs (Umarā), officers of justice etc. in the streets.[5] The ordinary merchants had their dwellings over their ware-houses, at the back of the arcades.[6]

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1. Bernier, 252.
2. Ibid, 246.
3. Thevenot, 60.
4. Monserrate, 97.
5. Bernier, 246.
6. Ibid, 245.

Tavernier also writes about the houses of merchants near the Palace. He refers to the houses of private persons in the town who lived in large enclosures.[1]

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1. Tavernier, 79.

Chapter 11

HIMALAYAN TERRITORIES OF THE *ṢŪBA*

1. Kumāūn

Under Akbar Kumāūn formed a separate *sarkār* falling within *ṣūba* Delhi.[1] It comprised practically the entire Himalayan portion of the present state of Uttar Pradesh. Though the *Āʾīn* treats this region under the single division of Kumāūn, local traditions suggest that by Akbar's reign, both Kumāūn and Gaṛhwāl had established their separate principalities. The Kumāūn *rājas* had their capital at Almora and the Gaṛhwāl *rājas* at Dewālgaṛh (later in the early 17th century Srinagar was founded; and the capital was shifted there by Mahīpatī Shāh).[2]

An analysis of the *Āʾīn*'s list of the Kumāūn *maḥal* (those which have been identified so far) suggests that they were mostly situated in the Terai. However, Phauri (Pauri) and Basantpur, which belonged to Gaṛhwāl, were included in the *sarkār*.[3]

1. *Āʾīn*, I, 521.
2. Edwin T. Atkinson, *Kumaun Hills*, Delhi, 1974 (Reprint), p.539; H.G. Walton, *British Garhwal*, *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, Allahabad, 1910, p. 115-6 .
3. Phauri is given in the *Āʾīn*'s (I, 521) *maḥal* list for *sarkār* Kumāūn. Basantpur is not included in this list. However, Abūl Faẓl (*Akbar-nāma*, III, 144) mentions that Basantpur belonged to *sarkār* Kumāūn.

According to the Āīn, the sarkār of Kumāūn contained 21 maḥals with a jamaʻ of 4,04,37,700 dāms. The zamīndārs' retainers of these maḥals comprised 3,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry.[1] By the time of Aurangzeb the Kumāūn sarkār had been divided into two, the new sarkār being that of Srinagar which represented the principality of Gaṛhwāl.[2] The Kumāūn sarkār now consisted of only six maḥals listed in the Kāghazāt-i-mutafarriqa, of which only Bhoksi, Chinki (Chhinki) and Sahajgar maḥal were recorded in the Āīn. The new maḥals are Faridnagar etc. Kashipur, Barbhad and Ḥavelī Kumāūn (Almora, presumably). The sarkār had a jamaʻ of 1,69,20,000 dāms, but its ḥāṣil amounted to Rs. 89,719 only.[3]

Exaggerated reports of the wealth of the hill rulers seem to have circulated. Firishta says that the Rāja of Kumāūn possessed an army of 80,000 cavalry and infantry and commanded great repute at the court of the Emperors of Delhi.[4] Jahāngīr also says that the Rāja of Kumāūn possessed

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1. Āīn, I, 521.
2. Kāghazāt-i-mutafarriqa, 85a-86b.
3. Ibid, 85a.
4. Mullā Muḥammad Qāsim, Tārīkh-i-Firishta, Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, p.420.

large quantities of gold.[1]

In 1569-70 Ḥusain Khān Tukariah, governor of Kant and Gola led an expedition into the territories of Kumāūn Raja. Badā'ūnī says that Ḥusain Khān marched towards Kumāūn with the intention of demolishing temples and breaking idols. Besides, he had also heard of the great wealth of the Rāja. After some resistance the inhabitants (of the Terai, apparently) took refuge in the mountains. Ḥusain Khān ravaged the entire low-lands as far as Wajrail which was a part of the Rainka Rāja's territory.[2] Suddenly, heavy rains fell and it became difficult for Ḥusain Khān's forces to procure food and fodder. Starvation befell the army. Though Ḥusain Khān tried his best to encourage his men, the army could not be prevented from retreating. As it withdrew, the natives blocked the passes and threw stones and poisoned arrows. Badā'ūnī gives the chronogram of the disaster as "bitter without taste" (1030-50 978 AH/1570-71 AD).[3]

After his return Ḥusain Khān was again granted Kant and Gola in jāgīr. He led several expeditions to the outskirts of the Kumāūn hills but he could never penetrate into the hills.[4]

1. Tuzuk, 107.
2. The title Rainka Rāja was that of the Rāja of Doti. Wajrail can be identified with either Jurail or Dipail, the cold weather residence of the Doti Rāja on the Seti river, at the foot of the hills. Cf. Kumaun Hills, 544-45.
3. Badā'ūnī, II, 125-26.
4. Ibid, 126.

In 1575-76 Ḥusain Khān once again invaded Kumāūn. The reason for his attack, again, was his plunder.[1] Before entering the hills he plundered many towns (within Mughal territories), north of the river Ganges. Then he attacked and plundered Basantpur, a town in Eastern Dun. During the skirmishes he received a severe musket-wound and was compelled to retreat, again without any gain.[2] In the meantime, complaints were lodged against him by Malik-ul Sharq Gujarātī, the tax-collector (karorī) of Thanesar to the Emperor to the effect that he was in rebellion. This was perhaps, because he had not received any order or authorisation from the Emperor to attack Kumāūn. Though Sa'īd Khān Mughal, a friend of Ḥusain Khān, firmly denied Malik-ul-Sharq Gujarātī's allegations, Akbar ordered Sayyid Hāshim, son of Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, to bring back Ḥusain Khān.[3] The latter returned to Agra but he soon died of wounds.[4]

Sulṭān Ibrāhīm of Aubāhī, uncle-in-law of Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad, later led an expedition into the foot-hills (dāmani-

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1. AN, III, 144; Badāūnī, II, 219.

2. Abūl Faẓl (AN, III, 144) blamed Ḥusain Khān's defeat to his ill-conceived plan.

3. Abūl Faẓl (AN, III, 144) says that Ṣādiq Khān together with some of the Sayyids of Bārha and Amroha was send against him.

4. AN, III, 143-144; Badāūnī, II, 219-20.

koh) of Kumāūn and seized control over it.[1] We do not have any detailed information of this expedition. The Āīn also does not mention him in its list of nobles.

Though Rudra Chand (1565-97), Rāja of Kumāūn, used to send presents to the Emperor he never came to the court. In 1588, at the instigation of Mathurā Dās, ʿāmil of Bareilly, Rudra Chand expressed his wish to pay respects to the Mughal Emperor personally..But he demanded assurance of safety from Rāja Todar Mal. Todar Mal sent his son, Kalyān Dās, to reassure him. Accordingly on 18 Dec. 1588 Rudra Chand paid his respects to the Emperor.[2] Badāūnī also mentions this visit. He says that Rudra Chand came to Lahore from the "Siwālik" hills. It was the first ever visit of any of the hill Rājas to Akbar's court. He brought rarities including a yak and a musk-deer which, however, died en route because of excessive heat.[3]

Local tradition in Kumāūn attributes much importance to Rudra Chand's journey to the court. It is said that Akbar was so pleased with the conduct of the Kumāūn Rāja

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1. Ṭabaqāt, II, 449.

2. AN, III, 533.

3. Badāūnī, II, 365-66. Jahāngīr in his memoirs (Tuzuk, 106) also has a reference to Rudra Chand's meeting with Akbar. He says, "Rāja Rudra, who at the time of waiting upon the late king, sent a petition asking that the son of Rāja Todar Mal might lead him to the Royal presence, and his request was acceeded to".

that he invited him to Lahore and ordered Rudra Chand to help imperial forces in the siege of Nagor (Nagarkot?) where the hill troops distinguished themselves. Akbar conferred on him a grant of Chaurāsī Māl parganas and excused Rudra Chand from personal attendance at the court for the rest of his life. Rudra Chand made Bīrbal, making him his purohit so that upto the close of the Chand rule, the descendants of Bīrbal used to visit Almora to collect the customary dues.[1]

It seems that after Akbar's death, the Kumāūn Rājas continued to maintain cordial relations with the Mughal court. In 1612 Jahāngīr writes that Lakshmī Chand (1597-1621) petitioned Jahāngīr to ask that a son of I'timād-uddaula might accompany him to the court. His wish was granted and Shāpur was sent to bring him to the court. The Rāja presented gunt-horses, hawks, falcons, musk, skin of musk-deer, swords etc. Jahāngīr describes him as the richest of the hill chiefs.[2] He also says as · Akbar had given Rudra Chand 100 horses, he also gave Lakshmī Chand the same number of horses and an elephant.[3] Besides, he

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1. Kumāūn Hills, 546.

2. Tuzuk, 106-7.

3. Ibid, 111. Rāja's name is wrongly printed as Tekchand in the printed Persian text. However, the manuscript reading is Lakhmī (Lakshmī) Chand. (Āsafiah, 1/234, 632 p.247).

presented him with a robe of honour and a jewelled sword. His brothers also got robes of honour and horses.[1]

According to local tradition Jahāngīr visited the Terai for hunting during Lakshmī Chand's reign and stayed between Tanda and Pipal Hata where there is a Bādshāhī garden, which is considered to have been built during Jahāngīr's reign.[2] But there is no record of this in Jahāngīr's own memoirs.

During the reign of Shāhjahān, Bahādur Chand, titled Bāz Bahādur (1638-78), Rāja of Kumāūn visited the court and appealed to Shāhjahān for help against "the Hindūs of Katehr" who had earlier succeeded in occupying portions of the Terai. He was given audience (1654-55) and asked to join imperial forces engaged in the Dun which was under Gaṛhwāl.[3] He was given a farman and a jewelled robe of honour.[4] The Rāja so distinguished himself in the expedition against Gaṛhwāl that on his return to Delhi, he was honoured with the title of 'Bahādur' and the right of naqqāra to be beaten before him. The emperor also appointed Rustam Khān to aid

1. Ibid, 111.

2. Badri Datt Pāndey, Kumāūn ka Itihās, Almora, 1937, p.275.

3. Kumāūn Hills, 561-62.

4. Wāriṡ, 302; Ṣāliḥ, III, 207.

the Rāja in recovering the Terai from the Kateharias.[1] Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ says that in 1655-56 Bahādur Chand sent 2 elephants and some horses through Khalīlullāh Khān as peshkash to the Emperor. The Emperor bestowed upon him a robe of honour and other presents.[2] A Kumāūn document of 1656 tells us that Bāz Bahādur paid a second visit to the court. He presented 1001 muhrs, Rs.3000 along with other specialities of the hill -swords, elephants, horses etc. to the Emperor. He also presented 101 muhrs each to Begum (Jahānārā) and Dārā Shukōh. Further, he presented Rs.1000 as nazr to Dārā Shukōh. In all, his presents to the Emperor were worth Rs.40,427 in cash and kind and those to Jahānārā and Dārā Shukōh Rs.8,512.[3]

Bahādur Chand later also helped the Mughals in forcing the ruler of Srinagar to surrender Sulaimān Shukōh.[4]

1. Kumāūn Hills, 562.
2. Ṣāliḥ, III, 220.
3. Cf. Rāhul Sānkrityāyan, Kumāūn, Varanasi, Samvat, 2015, pp. 86-88.
4. Rāhul Sānkrityāyan, Himālaya Parichay (1) Gaṛhwāl, Allahabad, p.144-5. Badri Datt Pāndey (Kumāūn kā Itihās, 284-85) says that at first Sulaimān Shukōh sought shelter in Kumāūn and was welcomed by the Rāja. But as the Rāja saw the risks that involved, he sent him to the Rāja of Srinagar (Gaṛhwāl) along with nazrāna and money. Aurangzeb in the meantime sent a force and threatened the Rāja that if he would not return the Prince, the Terai would be taken away and the imperial forces would desolate Kumāūn. However, later, one of the Mughal nobles confirmed that the Rāja was innocent in the matter. Bāz Bahādur sent Kunwar Parwat Singh and Pandit Vishwarūp Pāndey to Delhi to clear his position. The emperor was pleased over his conduct and presented him a farmān and a robe of honour.

In 1662 Bahadur Chand sent a number of hill birds as <u>peshkash</u> to the Emperor.[1] The emperor bestowed upon him a jewel studded handle of a sword and a robe of honour.[2] In 1664-65, again, the Emperor conferred a robe of honour on Bahādur Chand.[3]

The <u>Akhbārāt</u> report that in 1665 Aṣālat Khān, along with Ḥusain ʿAlī supplied with 1000 rockets was deputed on an expedition to Kumāūn.[4] One lakh of rupees from the Chāndpur <u>pargana</u> was granted to him for expenses.[5] Aṣālat Khān also requested that Sayyid Farīd Rustam Khān be deputed along with him as he knew the region well. His request was complied with.[6] Ilahwardī Khān, Kesar Singh, son of Rāo Karan were also sent along with these forces.[7]

The next report on Kumāūn occurs in the <u>Akhbārāt</u> of 1666. We are told that Ilahwardī Khān had reported to Jʿafar Khān that the Rāja of Kumāūn had sent a letter expressing

1. <u>Akhbārāt</u>, 20 Zaī-ul-Ḥijja, 4 R.Y./6 Aug. 1662.
2. <u>ʿĀlamgīrnāma</u>, 595, 765.
3. Ibid, 861.
4. <u>Akhbārāt</u>, 1-2 Jumādī-ul-Awwal, 8 R.Y./9-10 Nov. 1665.
5. Ibid, 2 Jumādī-ul-Awwal, 8 R.Y./10 Nov. 1665.
6. Ibid, 28 Jumādī-ul-Awwal, 8 R.Y./ 6 Dec. 1665.
7. Ibid, 1 Jumādī-ul-Ṣānī, 8 R.Y./9 Dec. 1665.

his allegiance to the Emperor.[1] The Rāja protested as to why then his country was being ravaged. It had been falsely alleged by the Rāja of Srinagar that he had large treasure-hoards. Besides, he added, that if he (the Rāja of Kumāūn) ever marched to Srinagar without the permission of the Emperor he was ready to pay fine.[2]

Ilahwardī Khān also sought a subsidy of one lakh of rupees and the services of two hundred stone-cutters for the expedition. The amount was to be converted into inʿām at Ilahwardī Khān's success. His request was accepted.[3]

In the same year Murīd Khān was appointed faujdār of Dāman-i-koh of Kumāūn with an enhancement of 500/500 (his total manṣab now, 1000/500).[4]

"Being desirous of standing well with the Delhi court," in 1672 Bāz Bahadur imposed poll-tax (jiziya), the income of which was regularly remitted to the Emperor.[5] But this seems to be incorrect since Aurangzeb imposed the jiziya

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1. Ibid, 4 Ẓaī-ul-Qadah, 9 R.Y./8 May, 1666.
2. Ibid, 4 Ẓaī-ul-Qadah, 9 R.Y./8 May, 1666.
3. Ibid, 2 Ẓaī-ul-Ḥijja, 9 R.Y./5 June, 1666.
4. ʿĀlamgirnāma, 981.
5. Kumāūn Hills, 566.

only in 1679 and Bāz Bahādur was by then dead.

In 1673-74 the Kumāūn Rāja was again alarmed over the imperial army's contemplated expedition. The fear was removed by the intervention of Murtaẓa Khān. Rāja Bahādur Chand requested Ḥāmid Khān to accompany his son to the court to pay his respects. He presented 1000 muhrs and 3000 rupees in cash and got a robe of honour.[1]

In 1694 and again in 1696 Udyot Chand (1678-98) sent some birds and animals to the imperial court.[2] In 1700 Aurangzeb conferred a robe of honour upon him.[3]

In 1701 after Udyot Chand's death his son Giyān Chand (1698-1708) sent 100 muhrs, four handles of Khānda, 25 bāz and falcons of the hills. He requested Aurangzeb to confer the ṭīka on him. Aurangzeb duly conferred the ṭīka, signifying his recognition as a rāja.[4]

In 1703 and again in 1704 Giyān Chand sent white falcons to the emperor as peshkash through Tarbiyat Khān and got robes of honour and a farmān-i-qalamī.[5]

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1. Ma'āṣir, 128.

2. Akhbārāt, 20 Sh'abān, 37 R.Y./16 April 1694; 6 Shawwāl, 40 R.Y./9 May, 1696.

3. Ibid, 24 Shawwāl, 44 R.Y./14 April, 1700.

4. Ibid, 8 Ẕal-ul-Qadah, 45 R.Y./16 April, 1701.

5. Ibid, 25 & 26 Muḥarram, 47 R.Y./8 & 11 June, 1703; 10 Ṣafar, 48 R.Y./14 June 1704; 3 Rabī'-ul-ṡānī, 48 R.Y./ 5 Aug. 1704.

In 1705 Giyān Chand reported through Tarbiyat Khān Bahadur mīr-ātish that he had captured the fort of Lodhan from Fateḥ Singh, the rebellious Rāja of Srinagar. Tarbiyat Khān also reported that Giyān Chand, himself, had written a letter in this regard to the Emperor soliciting the grant of the pargana of Kelagarh and an elephant as in'ām for his success over Fateḥ Singh. His request was granted. The Emperor also ordered that details be reported to him.[1]

2. Srinagar

It is difficult to establish when Srinagar was brought to accept the suzerainty of the Mughal Emperor. The Āīn does not mention Srinagar. [illegible]. The town is first mentioned in the Tuzuk.[2] According to local tradition Mahīpatī Shāh, who was a contemporary of Lakshmī Chand (1597-1621), shifted his capital from Dewalgarh to Srinagar.[3] This suggests that the town was probably founded in the early years of Jahāngīr's

1. Ibid, 8 Shawwāl, 49 R.Y./3 Jan. 1705.

2. Tuzuk, 328. Prof. Irfan Habib (An Atlas of the Mughal Empire, Delhi, 1982, p.27) says that Srinagar is first mentioned by Antonio de Andrade who visited Srinagar in 1624. However, the Tuzuk's reference of the Rāja of Srinagar, Shyām Singh is of an earlier date (1621).

3. Walton, 115-16.

reign. By Aurangzeb's reign Srinagar came to form a separate sarkār in the sūba. It consisted of 6 mahals(Havelī Srinagar, Chandi, Kothal, Koli etc.) with a jamaʿ of 81 lakh dāms; the hāsil amounted to Rs.60,000.[1]

Our information about Mughal relations with the principality begins from Akbar's reign when in 1575-76 Husain Khān Tukariah invaded Basantpur (Dun). However, he had to retreat without any gain.[2] According to local tradition the ruler owed allegiance to the Mughal Emperor (Akbar) but paid no tribute.[3]

Under Jahāngīr, it seems that the Mughals had cordial relations with the Rāja of Srinagar, Shyām Singh. In 1621 Jahāngīr presented a horse and an elephant to Shyām Singh.[4]

In 1624 and in 1631 Portuguese missionaries Father Antonio de Andrade and Francisco de Azevedo, travelled to Tibet by the same route, i.e. via Hardwar, Srinagar, Badrinath/Joshimath and the Mana Pass.[5] Father Andrade had

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1. Kāghazāt-i-Mutafarriqa, 86b.

2. AN, III, 143-44; Badāʾūnī, II, 219-20. A detail account of Husain Khān's attack is given in the earlier part, while dealing Mughal Kumāūn relations.

3. Walton, 116-17.

4. Tuzuk, 328.

5. C. Wessels, S.J., Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia, 1603-1721, Hague, 1924, pp.43-63, 95-110.

complaints over the hostile behaviour of the Rāja of Srinagar. The father had to "undergo a severe cross-examination as to whence he came and what was his subject".[1]

During the reign of Shāhjahān in 1634-35, the ruler of Srinagar (who must have been Mahīpati Shāh 1625-46) is said to have revolted. Najābat Khān, faujdār of Dāman-i-koh Punjab requested Shāhjahān to entrust him with the task of suppressing the revolt. He demanded 2000 sawār for his help. Shāhjahān sent him the required contingent. At first, he captured the fort of Shergarh. Then he marched to Kalpi (Kalsi). At this time the ruler of Sirmūr along with his contingent also joined him. After some resistance they captured the fort. Then he captured the fort of Santur which he gave over to Jagtū, zamīndār of Lakhanpur. He crossed the Ganga from Hardwar and left Gujar Gwāliarī and Udai Singh Rāṭhor to look after supplies. He himself marched to Katl Talāv. The chief of Srinagar raised a numerous force[2] "like ants and locusts" attacking Najābat Khān with arrows and musket shots. After much effort Najābat Khān succeeded in capturing a large number of the enemy. Here Gūjar Gwāliarī also joined him and they

1. Wessels, 49.

2. Amīn Qazwīnī (Bādshāhnāma Or. 173, f.346b) says that it was 40,000 (infantry).

reached a point only 3 kurohs from Srinagar. At last, the Srinagar ruler agreed to pay without delay Rs.10 lakhs to the Mughal exchequer and one lakh to Najābat Khān.[1] Najābat Khān waited for one and half months for the indemnity, but Srinagar ruler sent not more than one lakh of rupees. Najābat Khān's decision to wait for such a long time proved shortsighted and led to a total disaster for the imperial forces. His army was stationed at a place so deep in the mountains that it was very difficult to maintain supplies. At last he had only one month's stores left. To add to this, the rainy season was very near. Seeing no way out Najābat Khān sent Gūjar Gwāliarī along with 200 sawār to bring food from Nagina. But hardly had he marched 5-6 kurohs, when the enemy came in strength to attack him. Gūjar Gwāliarī died fighting, but Najābat Khān could not get even the news of this disaster. In the meantime, another contingent of the Srinagar forces surrounded Najābat Khān's army and blocked all passes. In the ensuing struggle most of Najābat Khān's force perished and Najābat Khān and a few other nobles could barely escape with their lives.[2]

When the Emperor was informed of this disaster, he took away the mansab and jāgīr of Najābat Khān and Mirzā

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1. Ṣādiq Khān (35a) mentions the sum 2 lakhs for Najābat Khān.
2. Lāhorī, IIi, 90-92,309, Qazwīnī, 346a-348a, Ṣādiq Khān, 34b-35a.

Khān, son of Shāh Nawāz Khān was appointed faujdār of the Dāman-i-koh Kangra in his place.[1]

In 1654-55 the Mughal forces again raided the territory of Srinagar. Khalīlullāh Khān, along with 8,000-10,000 soldiers was appointed to lead the expedition. The ruler of Sirmūr, Subhāg Prakāsh (1654-1664) and some other local chiefs of Dun also joined the imperial forces. During the expedition, Khalīlullāh Khān established fortified camps at Kelagarh (140x120 yards), Bahādurpūr (220x150 yards), Basantpūr (130x120 yards) and Sahajpūr (1000 yards in circumference and 15 yards high) and stationed there Sher Khwāja, Bahā Nohānī, Sayyid Biloch and Muḥammad Ḥusain respectively. At Bahādurpūr a great number of cattle fell into the hands of the invading troops. Khalīlullāh Khān sent up artillery to capture Chandi. Here, he was joined by the Rāja of Kumāūn Bahādur Chand.[2]

Since the rainy season was near and Khalīlullāh Khān had taken possession of the Dun, the Emperor ordered that he should not go further and return to the court. Khalīlullāh Khān handed over the Dun to Chaturbhuj Chauhān. The latter was also granted a 12 monthly waṭan-jāgīr worth

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1. Lāhorī, Iii, 92, Qazwīnī, 348a, Ṣādiq Khān, 35a.
2. Wāriṡ, 300-2, Ṣāliḥ, III, 205-7.

60 lakhs dāms(1.5 lakhs of Rs.). His mansab was increased to 1500/1000 by an enhancement of 400 sawār. Since the peasants in pargana Dun resisted paying revenue, 500 sawār and 1000 musketeers were attached to Chaturbhuj. The cost of maintenance of these troops, which amounted to Rs.10,000 a month, was to be met by the imperial exchequer in cash. The fort of Santur was also handed over to Chaturbhuj. Chandi was put in the charge of Nagardās, tax-collector (karorī) of Hardwar.[1]

Ṣāliḥ records that in 1656 i.e. a year after Khalīl-ullāh Khān's expedition, Shāhjahān conferred a robe of honour, a decorated urbasī, a jewelled sword, silver weapons with mīnākārī, an ʿIrāqī horse with silver stirrup and an elephant on Maidinī Rāʾī (1654-1664), son of the ruler of Srinagar[2]. Apparently, with the occupation of the Dun, the Srinagar ruler's allegiance could now be accepted.

In 1656 Himmat Khān was assigned the jāgīr of Dun.[3]

Srinagar, did not,however, long remain loyal to the Mughals. During the war of succession, Prithvī Shāh (1646-76) gave asylum to Dārā Shukōh's son Sulaimān Shukōh.

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1. Wāriṣ, 302, Ṣāliḥ, III, 207, 216.
2. Ṣāliḥ, III, 232.
3. Ibid, 244-5.

The prince fled into the hills when pursued by Shā'ista Khān, Lodī Khān and Fidā'ī Khān Koka.[1] Khāfī Khān says that the ruler of Srinagar seized all the money and jewels that Sulaimān had brought and kept him prisoner.[2] Basing himself on local sources, Rāhul Sānkrityāyan says that when Sulaimān arrived Prithvī Shāh made him welcome, since Aurangzeb's success was still undecided. Prithvī Shāh even married one of his daughters to Sulaimān Shukōh.[3] Fidā'ī Khān from Hardwar and Qāsim Khān from Nagina pursued Sulaimān Shukōh, but failed to bring him back.[4] Sānkrityāyan adds that Prithvī Shāh's son Maidinī Shāh did not like to incur Aurangzeb's displeasure by keeping Sulaimān Shukōh, and that one of Prithvī Shāh's ministers even tried to poison the fugitive prince, but somehow the news was leaked and the scheming minister was executed.[5]

In the 2 R.Y. (1658-59) Aurangzeb sent a farmān to Prithvī Shāh demanding the surrender of Sulaimān Shukōh.[6] Rāja Rāj Rūp and Ra'dandāz Khān were appointed to persuade Prithvī Shāh to give up the fugitive prince.[7] In the meantime,

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1. Khāfī Khān, II, 41.
2. Ibid, 42.
3. Himālaya Parichay (1), 144.
4. Ibid; Akhbārāt, 14 Shawwāl, 3 R.Y./23 June, 1660.
5. Himālaya Parichay (1), 144.
6. Abu'l Fazl Ma'mūrī, Or. 174, f. 111a.
7. 'Ālamgīrnāma, 421, 441, 479. Ma'āsir, 26.

as a token of submission, Prithvi Shah sent tāngan horses and hunting animals of the hills to the Emperor as peshkash. Aurangzeb, along with Radandāz Khān, also sent a robe of honour, a female elephant, a jewelled handle of jamdhar for Prithvī Shāh.[1]

Rāja Rāj Rūp requested Aurangzeb for 2,50,000 maunds of grain for the Srinagar expedition. His demand was acceded to and Qāsim Khān was directed to send the required supplies.[2]

The expeditionary forces entered Srinagar territory from three points: from the west under Rāja of Sirmūr; from the Dun, the imperial troops; and from the north-east, the Rāja of Kumāūn. The imperial forces captured the Dun and Bhabar.[3]

Sāqī Musta'id Khān and Khāfī Khān say that this time Prithvī Shāh wrote a letter to Rāja Jai Singh seeking pardon. At the Rāja's request Jai Singh sent his son Rām Singh to bring Sulaimān Shukōh. Sulaimān Shukōh was thus brought to

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1. 'Alamgīrnāma, 441.

2. Akhbārāt, 14 Shawwāl, 3 R.Y./23 June, 1660.

3. Himālaya Parichay (1), p.144-45. Khāfī Khān (II, 123) says that Aurangzeb had sent Tarbiyat Khān with the expedition. Capture of Dun at this time seems fabulous since it was already conquered by the Imperial forces. See supra.

the court on 6 Jan. 1661.[1]

Aurangzeb took a lenient view of Prithvī Shāh's conduct. Maidinī Shāh, who accompanied Sulaimān Shukōh to the court, was granted the manṣab of 2000/1000, along with gifts of Rs.5,000 in cash, an elephant, 10 horses and a robe of honour. For Prithvī Shāh, the Emperor sent a robe of honour, an elephant and other gifts.[2]

There is also a cultural side to Sulaimān Shukōh's flight to Srinagar. He had been accompanied by the painter Shām Dās (son of Banārasī Dās) and his son Har Dās. After Sulaimān Shukōh's imprisonment Shām Dās remained at Srinagar. After his death, his family continued his profession till the early 19th century, when the profession was finally abandoned.[3]

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1. Ma'āṣir, 33; Khāfī Khān (II, 123) gives the date 12 Jan. 1661. Sānkrityāyan (Himālaya Parichay (1), p.145) says that Jai Singh sent his son to conciliate Prithvī Shāh. The rāja welcomed Rām Singh but did not agree to return Sulaimān Shukōh. In the meantime, Sulaimān Shukōh, realising that Maidinī Shāh and Rām Singh were searching for him, tried to flee towards Tibet. Since he had no knowledge of the hills he deviated from the correct track. Finally, a milk-man caught him and handed him over to Rām Singh.

2. 'Ālamgīrnāma, 618, 625, 757, Khāfī Khān, II, 123.

3. Himālaya Parichay (1), 133-34 (fn.)

In 1665-66 Prem Singh (?)[1], ruler of Srinagar sent his son to the Mughal court along with objects of gold, hill-horses and hunting animals. He was granted a robe of honour, jewelled jamdhar, sarpech, urbasī and pahunchī. He also got a mansab of 1500 sawār.[2]

In 1668 Fateḥ Singh (?), ruler of Srinagar, sent falcons and horses as peshkash through his servant Kunwar Dās.[3]

In 1686-87, Rāja Mat Prakāsh of Sirmūr (1684-1704) complained that the Rāja of Srinagar had seized some of his territories. Aurangzeb despatched some forces to the aid of the Rāja. As a consequence, the Rāja of Srinagar was compelled to surrender the fort of Bairat and Kalsi to Rāja Mat Prakāsh.[4]

As already mentioned, the Akhbārāt in 1705 contain a report that the Rāja of Kumāūn had captured the fort of Lodhan from Fateḥ Singh (1699-1749), the rebellions ruler of Srinagar.[5] Apparently, once again the ruler of Gaṛhwāl

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1. By this time Prithvī Shāh (1646-76) was the Rāja of Srinagar and his son was named Maidinī Shāh (1676-99).
2. ʻĀlamgirnāma, 872, 881.
3. Akhbārāt, 20 Ramẓān, 10 R.Y./16 March, 1667. The name is wrongly given Fateḥ Singh. At this time Prithvī Shāh (1646-76) was the ruler of Srinagar. Fateḥ Singh had succeeded his father Maidinī Shāh (1676-99) only in 1699.
4. Sirmur State Gazetteer, Lahore, 1907, part 'A', p.14.
5. Akhbārāt, 8 Shawwāl, 49 R.Y./3 Jan. 1705.

was under pressure from the Mughals, who could use to good advantage the hostile relations subsisting between Kumāūn and Gaṛhwāl.

3. Sirmūr :

Although Sirmūr was probably outside the sūba of Delhi[1], its ruler seems to have held jāgirs (Sadhaura, Doon valley, etc.) in the Delhi sūba from time to time, and was involved in perpetual disputes with Srinagar. It may, therefore, be relevant to survey Sirmūr's relations with the Mughal authorities in a separate section.

The Sirmūr rulers regularly used to supply ice to the Emperor. For this the ruler used to by popularly called "Barfī Rāja". Lāhorī, Wāriṣ, Ṣāliḥ and Manucci, all, mention boat-loads of ice coming down by the Yamuna to Delhi.[2]

In 1634-35 Rāja of Sirmūr Māndhāta Prakāsh (1630-64) assisted the Mughal forces against Srinagar. During this expedition Najābat Khān handed over the fort of Kalsi to

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1. Kāghazāt-i-mutafarriqa (80a) puts Sirmūr into Lahore sūba (Doāb Sind Sāgar).

2. Lāhorī, Iii, 90; Wāriṣ, 300, Ṣāliḥ, III, 205, Manucci, II, 438. The porters (hammāls) carried the ice (for around 16 kurohs at their back) which was sent to the capital via boats from Daryapur (near Khizrābād) and Dharmras.

Māndhāta.[1] At the Rāja's request Najābat Khān also sent a contingent to occupy the fort of Bairat which had been within Sirmūr Rāja's principality but had been seized by the Rāja of Srinagar. With Mughal help Māndhāta took possession of the fort.[2]

In May, 1655 when the Mughal forces marched against Srinagar, the ruler of Sirmūr, Subhāg Prakāsh (1654-1664) also joined the imperial forces. Shāhjahān granted him the title of "Rāja Subhāg Prakāsh".[3]

In the same year, in December, Subhāg Prakāsh paid his respects to the Emperor and presented nine horses and some birds.[4] In reward, for his services in the Srinagar expedition he obtained Kotaha in grant.[5]

After Aurangzeb's accession Subhāg Prakāsh came to the court to pay his respects. Aurangzeb gave him a robe of honour and other presents.[6] Aurangzeb, even before his

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1.: Lāhorī, III, 90-91; Qazwīnī, 346a.

2. Lāhorī, III, 91; Qazwīnī, 346b.

3. Wāriṣ, 300; Ṣāliḥ, III, 205.

4. Ṣāliḥ, III, 214.

5. Aurangzeb's farmān, 22 Jumādī-ul-Awwal, 1065 AH/17 April, 1656. Cf. Sirmur State Gazetteers, part 'A', 13.

6. 'Ālamgīrnāma, 220, 221, 231.

accession had sent him a rescript as a prince in 1657-58 to notify his resumption of power".[1]

As the war of succession was in progress, in 1658-59, Aurangzeb, by a farmān directed the Rāja to intercept and prevent all correspondences between Sulaimān Shukōh and Dārā and to assist Rāja Rāj Rūp (uncle of Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur) against Srinagar.[2] Aurangzeb also sent a jamdhar and a robe of honour for Subhāg Prakāsh through Radandāz Khān.[3]

In 1660-61 Aurangzeb conferred Kalakhar (Kolagadh, near Dehradun) on the Rāja of Sirmūr.[4] In 1662-63 Subhāg Prakāsh visited the court. The Emperor bestowed upon him a robe of honour, a jewelled urbasī, a jamdhar and a horse decorated with gold.[5] Next year Subhāg Prakāsh again came to the court and presented some hunting birds and received a robe of honour.[6]

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1. Cf. Sirmur State Gazetteers, Part A, 13.
2. Ibid.
3. ʿĀlamgīrnāma, 441, 564.
4. Cf. Sirmur State Gazetteers, Part A, 14.
5. ʿĀlamgīrnāma, 765.
6. Ibid, 849.

On 20 July, 1668 Aurangzeb confirmed the succession of Rāja Budh Prakāsh.[1]

Certain letters of Jahānārā Begum written to the Rāja of Sirmūr have been preserved. These letters date from 13 to 23 R.Y. of Aurangzeb (1670-80 AD); and from these a few sidelights can be gained on relations between Sirmūr and the Mughal authorities.[2]

In 1670 the Rāja of Sirmūr sent a few animals and a basket of pomegranates to Jahānārā Begum.[3]

In 1671 myrobalans, a goldf inch and musk were sent by the Rāja to Jahanara Begum. Jahānārā Begum expressed her desire for another specimen of the goldfinch. A robe of honour was presented to the Rāja.[4]

In 1674 Aurangzeb ordered the supply of sāl (worth Rs.8,000) for imperial use from the Kalakhar forests over

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1. Cf. Sirmur State Gazetteers, Part A, 14.

2. Jahānārā's Letters, Cf. Ruqqāt-i-ʿĀlamgiri, 315-17. These letters contain regnal years only. Since these letters are addressed to Rāja Budh Prakāsh of Sirmūr (who reigned from 1664-1684) suggests that the letters belong to Aurangzeb's reign. It is very interesting that Jahānārā Begum (d. 1681, Maʾāsir, 213), who held a special position under Shahjahan continued to enjoy great influence in 'Mughal court Politics' during Aurangzeb's reign as well. After her death Aurangzeb ordered that her posthumous title should be Ṣāhibat-uz-zamānī.

3. Jahānārā's Letters, 16 Jumādī-ul-Ṣānī, 13 R.Y./31 Oct. 1670.

4. Ibid, 11 Shawwāl, 14 R.Y./21 Feb., 1671.

which no duty would be charged. If any dues had already been extracted then the Rāja of Simūr was ordered to refund it.[1]

Next year Aurangzeb ordered the Rāja to expel Sūraj Chand, son of the late ruler who had seized Pinjaur which fell within Fidāʼī Khān's jāgir.[2]

In 1675 musk and a flapper (chanwar) were sent to Jahānārā by the Rāja. The Rāja had complained that Sondha and other tahwīldārs of pargana Sadhaura (apparently in the Rāja's jāgir) were not remitting land-revenue and they were being assisted in this defiance by the zamīndārs of Sadhaura. The Rāja solicited a nishān of the Princes to be sent to Rūhullāh Khān, faujdār Miān Doāb, Dāwar Khān, faujdār Sirhind and ʻAlī Akbar, amīn-faujdār pargana Sadhaura to apprehend the recalcitrant tahwīldārs and zamīndārs. Jahānārā Begum replied that the Rāja should report the matter directly to the Emperor. Rūhullāh Khān and the other officials would not take any action until the Emperor was first informed.[3]

In 1677 the Rāja sent musk and a basket of pomegranates. Jahānārā Begum was pleased with the quality of musk and desired him to send more of the perfume. She

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1. Cf. Sirmur State Gazetteer, Part A, 14.

2. Ibid.

3. Jahānārā's Letters, 21 Rabīʻ-ul-Sānī, 18 R.Y./15 July, 1675.

directed the Rāja to check the quality so that false musk should not be sent.[1]

In 1678 Rāja sent two boxes of ice. Jahānārā Begum complained about the quality of ice, a large amount of which was already melted. The Rāja of Gaṛhwāl had also written that he had sent the ice, and it was not clear which of the two had sent the inferior ice. The Rāja of Sirmūr had requested her intervention in resolving his disputes with the Rāja of Gaṛhwāl. The Emperor had now ordered the Bakhshīs that whoever was guilty shall be punished. Jahānārā Begum said that the Rāja of Sirmūr's version was totally different from that of the other party. The Emperor had, accordingly, deputed an amīn to enquire into the matter. She added that a Mughal army could hardly be spared for the enterprise since the troops were occupied in Kabul and the Deccan.[2]

In 1680 the Rāja sent honey and a falcon to Jahānārā, who appreciated the fact that the Rāja had reported the turbulences of the Rāja of Srinagar directly to the Emperor. The Rāja had also complained (probably in reply to Jahānārā's earlier letter) that 'Abdur Raḥmān, dārōgha delayed the

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1. Jahānārā's Letters, 21 Ramẓān, 21 R.Y./17 Nov. 1677.
2. Ibid, 7 Jumādī-ul-Awwal, 21 R.Y./27 June, 1678.

collection of the ice and did not pay the labourers. Consequently, a <u>farmān</u> was sent to ʿAbdur Raḥmān to collect the ice diligently and pay the workers according to the agreement.[1]

In 1686-87 the Rāja complained that the Rāja of Srinagar had seized some of his territories. Aurangzeb despatched some forces to help him. As a consequence, the Rāja of Srinagar was compelled to surrender the fort of Bairat and Kalsi to Raja Mat Prakāsh (1684-1704).[2] In 1688-89 Aurangzeb directed the Sirmūr ruler not to interfere with the territories of the Rāja of Srinagar in future.[3]

In 1702 Rāja Mat Prakāsh died and his son Sri Prakāsh (Harī Prasād?) sent 11 <u>tōlas</u> of musk and 21 <u>ashrafīs</u> as <u>peshkash</u>. Aurangzeb conferred his father's <u>zamīndārī</u> on him and gave him the title of 'Rāja' and a robe of honour.[4]

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1. Jahānārā's Letters, 5 Muḥarram, 23 R.Y./6 Feb. 1680.
2. Cf. <u>Sirmur State Gazetteers</u>, Part A, 14.
3. Ibid.
4. <u>Akhbārāt</u>, 6 Shʿabān, 45 R.Y./6 Jan., 1702.

Chapter 12

REBELLIONS

1. The Satnāmis:

The Satnāmis are known to most students of history because of their uprising during the reign of Aurangzeb. Our knowledgde of the Satnāmī revolt is derived almost entirely from Persian records.[1] But on the Satnāmī sect and its beliefs, we are fortunate in possessing the primary source, viz., the text of the Satnāmī scripture.[2] The only known copy of this text is preserved in the library of Royal Asiatic Society, London. H.H.Wilson, Crooke and Grierson probably refer to the same text, which Crooke and Grierson designate "Pothī".[3] The information used by them largely tallies with the that given by the manuscript of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The Satnāmis were a sect of 'unitarians'[4] and were

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1. Isardās Nāgar, Futūhāt-i-ʿĀlamgīrī, Br. Mus. Add. 23884 Rieu i/269a, Abūl Fazl Maʿmūrī, Tārīkh-i-Shāhjahān wa Aurangzeb, Or. 1671, Sāqī Mustaʿid Khān, Maʾāsir-i ʿĀlamgīrī, Khāfī Khān, Muntakhab-ul Lubāb, Vol. II, It seems that Khāfī Khān has reproduced the information supplied by Abūl Fazl Maʿmūrī.

2. Giyān-Bānī, RAS, London, Hindūstānī 1. Prof.Irfan Habib let me use his transcription of the part of this text. The name of the author is not known. A translation of the extracts from the text is given in the appendix.

3. H.H.Wilson, Religious Sects of the Hindus, ed. Ernst. R. Rost, Calcutta, 1958, pp. 196-99, W.Crooke, The tribes and Castes of the North-Western India, Vol. IV, P.246, G.A. Grierson in J.Hastings(ed.) Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, New York, 1954, XI, 46-7.

4. Manucci (II, 155) has termed them "Hindū Holi Mendicants" while Maʿmūrī (148a) and Khāfī Khān (ii, 252) have used the term "Hindū Faqīrs" for them.

called Bairāgīs, as also Mundiāhs[1] since they shaved off their hair "not even sparing their eye-brows."[2] The Satnāmī scripture lays down that no one should keep a beard, though women should keep their hair.[3]

The sect was founded on 21 April, 1657 A.D. (Samvat 1714, Baisākh sudī dwādashī, Sukarvār) by a native of hamlet Kaunsalī village of Bijhasar in Nārnaul.[4]

This is probably the only authentic information we have for the founder of the sect. Crooke and Grierson, give a much earlier date, for his birth, viz. 1543[5] ascribing the foundation to Birbhan of Bijhāsar.[6] But if the latter date is correct the Satnāmī scripture cannot be his composition since it refers to tobacco.[7] Besides, it is said that Bīrbhan

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1. Manucci, II, 155, Saqi Mustaʿid Khān, 114, Maʿmūrī, 148a, Khāfī Khān, II, 252, Isardās, 61b.

2. Manucci, II, 155.

3. Giyān-Bānī, 44a.

4. Giyān-Bānī, 1a, 52b. Trant also mentions that the sect was found in the year of Vikramāditya 1714. Cf. Wilson, 197.

5. Crooke, IV, 245. Hastings XI, 46.

6. Crooke, IV, 245; Hastings, XI, 46; Wilson, 197.

7. Cf. Agrarian System, 342 f.n.24.

was inspired by Uddhava Dāsa (discussed later). If this is true, then again Bīrbhan's time must be later, since Uddhava Bairāgī was executed in Aurangzeb's 12th R.Y./1669-70 A.D.[1]

Crooke and Grierson consider the Satnāmīs as an offshoot of the Raidāsis.[2] They say that Bīrbhan was inspired by Udho, Uddhava or Uday Dās, who was a follower of Raidās.[3] But we do not find any evidence of a connection of the Satnāmīs with Raidās. Indeed, the only teacher named in the Satnāmī scripture is Kabīr which shows rather that the Satnāmīs were an off-shoot of the Kabīr-Panth.[4] Fisher calls Bīrbhan a disciple of Jogī Dās, who is said to have been in the service of the Rāja of Dholpur. Once he was left for dead in the battle field, but was restored to life by a stranger, who carried him to a mountain and having instructed him in religious truths, sent him back to spread his doctrine.[5] This account too seems legendary.

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1. Sāqī Musta'id Khān, 84-85.
2. Crooke, IV, 245, Hastings, XI, 46.
3. Crooke, IV, 245, Hastings, XI, 46; Wilson, 194.
4. Giyān-Bānī, 49b.
5. Wilson, 197.

According to Sāqī Mustaʿid Khān the Satnāmis recruited their ranks from lower castes like gold-smiths (zargar), possibly a misreading for barzgar, peasants)[1], carpenters, scavengers, tanners and other menial professions who were "weak and fordoomed to slaughter".[2] Abūl Fazl Maʿmūrī tells us that they were largely peasants and grain merchants with small capital.[3]

The Satnāmī doctrines are contained in the form of sabdas and sākhis, which were read at the religious meetings of the Sādhs.[4] The substance of the teachings is collected in Ādi-Upades, First precepts, where the whole code is arranged in twelve hukms (commandments).[5]

The Satnāmis cared greatly for their repute, the title of good-name (nek-nām), the meaning of Sat-nām.[6] The main emphasis in their scripture is on "Truth".[7] They believed in strict monotheism and the worship of the Formless God.[8] They detested idolatry.[9]

1. Irfan Habib has suggested the reading barzgar (peasant) for zargar (gold-smith), Agrarian System, 344, fn 31.
2. Sāqī Mustaʿid Khān, 114-115.
3. Maʿmūrī, 148b, Khāfī Khān, II, 252.
4. Wilson, 197.
5. Ibid, Hastings, XI, 46-47.
6. Maʿmūrī, 148b. Khāfī Khān, II, 252. Maʿmūrī has used the word "Sītārām in place of Satnām".
7. Giyān-Bānī, 1a, 4a, 17a, 25b, 26b.
8. Ibid, 9a, 26b.
9. Cf. Crooke, IV, 246; Hastings, XI, 46-47. This is clearly indicated in the first commandment (Wilson, 197)."Acknowledge but one God... there is none superior not to earth, nor metal, nor wood, nor trees, nor any created things." Eighth Commandment also says (Ibid, 198)"... hold not up your hands bow not down your head in the presence of idol or of men.".

Their worship took place in the evening, which all members of the sect, male and female attended.[1] *Pothis* were read almost daily in their "Chapel or meeting house, which is known as 'jumlaghar', or house of assembly or *chauki*, station ....."[2]

The Satnāmī scripture denied caste-distinctions.[3] It rejects any identity with Hindūs or Turks (Muslims).[4] They condemn all rituals and superstitions.[5] Pilgrimage, festivals and fasts were also condemned.[6] They discarded the counting of garland-beads and the putting of *tīka*-marks.[7]

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1. Crooke, IV, 246; Hastings, XI, 46. Fisher (Wilson, 199) says that their meetings are held at every full moon "when men and women collect at an early hour all bringing such food as they are able to. The day is spent in miscellaneous conversation or in the discussion of matters of common interest. In the evening they eat and drink together; and the night is passed in the recitations of the stanzas attributed to Bīrbhan or his preceptor and the poems of Dādū, Nānak and Kabīr".

2. Crooke, IV, 246.

3. *Giyān-Bānī*, 36a. The sixth Commandment(Wilson, 198) also condemns: "When asked what you are, declare yourself a *Sādh*. Speak not of "caste", engage not in controversy, hold firm your faith, put not your hope in men."

4. *Giyān-Bānī* 14b, Isardās, 61b.

5. *Giyān-Bānī*,31b, 39a-b. Twelfth Commandment (Wilson, 198): "Let not a *Sādh* be superstitious as todays, or to lunations, or to months, or the cries or appearances of birds or animals; let him seek only the will of the "Lord".

6. *Giyān-Bānī*, 26a, 39a-b.

7. Ibid., 25b, 31b.

Magic was despised. The Satnāmī text says, "Do not be afraid of anyone who threatens you with magic, nor believe in it (magic) nor practice it ...... Whatever the Lord wishes, happens.[1] Contemporary Persian writers nevertheless accused them of practising magic and witch-craft.[2] Following them, but surely quite unjustly, Sarkar terms the Satnāmī movement a "Vulgar craze for the supernatural".[3]

The Satnāmī scripture prescribes that dances and playing of any musical instruments are to be avoided.[4] Meat, betel-leaf, hookah, tobacco, opium and drinking of wine are all prohibited.[5] Isardās, on the other hand, alleges that they "eat pig's flesh and other disgusting and distasteful things"; and that even if a dog's meat was served before them they did not show any disgust or shame at it."[6] There is no justification in the Satnāmī

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1. Giyān-Bānī, 40b.

2. Isardās, 61b; Maʿmūrī 148b; Khāfī Khān, II, 253-54.

3. J.N.Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, Calcutta, 1928, Vol.IV, P.297.

4. Giyan-Bani, 31b, 39a, 44a. The third Commandment (Wilson, 198) ran, ... let not your eyes rest on improper objects, nor men, nor woman, nor dances, nor shows." The fourth Commandment (Ibid) says, "Listen not to evil discourse, nor to anything but the praises of the Creator, not to tales nor gossip, not calumny, nor music, nor singing except hymns; but then the only musical accompaniment must be in the mind."

5. Giyān-Bānī, 39b, The eighth Commandment (Wilson, 198); "Never eat, nor drink intoxicating substances, nor chew pan, nor smell perfume, nor smoke tobacco, nor chew nor smell ppium."

6. Isardās, 61b.

scripture for these allegations, which might have simply arisen because the Satnāmīs had opened their doors to the pork-eating "menial" castes.

The Satnāmīs were constantly asked to abstain from wordly pleasures and lead a simple life. They were to wear undyed clothes and no jewellery.[1] Crooke says that the Satnāmīs never wear a cap, but use instead a turban of a peculiar shape.[2] All the Hindū ceremonies of marriage, death etc. were also condemned; even the Hindū way of burning the dead was not admitted.[3]

The Satnāmīs were forbidden from acquiring wealth through unlawful means.[4] Theft, fraud, bearing false witness,

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1. Giyan-Bani, 26a, 44a; The seventh Commandment (Wilson, 198) "Wear white garments, use no pigments, nor collyrium, nor dentifrice, nor menhdi, nor mark your person, nor your forehead with sectarian distinctions, nor wear chaplets, or rosaries or jewels.

2. Crooke, IV, 245.

3. Giyān-Bānī, 39a-b.

4. Ibid; 36a; Cf. Mamūrī (148a, Khāfī Khān, II, 252. The third Commandment (Wilson, 198): "..... Never steal, nor wealth, nor land, nor beasts, nor pasture; distinguish your own from another's property, and be content with what you possess."

loot and the spoliation of the poor were condemened.[1] They preferred to earn their bread themselves and not to resort to begging. They did not accept gifts or charity.[2]

The tenth Commandment declares; "Let a man wed one wife and a woman one husband, let not a man eat of a woman's leavings, but a woman may of a man's, as may be the custom." Let the woman be "obedient to the man".[3] The Satnāmī scripture also says that a woman should marry only once.[4] Thus, on the one hand the Satnāmīs prohibit polygamy and widow remarriage; on the other they rank woman subordinate to the man.

Strict punishments were provided for those who acted against the doctrines of the Panth.[5]

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1. Giyān-Bānī, 36a; 39a-b, 40b. The ninth Commandment (Wilson, 198), "Take no life away nor offer personal violance, nor give damnatony evidence, nor seize anything by force".

2. Giyān-Bānī, 36a. The fifth Commandment (Wilson, 198); "Never covet anything either of body or wealth, take not of another. God is the giver of all things, as your trust is in Him, so shall you receive".

3. Wilson, 198; Crooke, IV, 249, Hastings, XI, 47.

4. Giyān-Bānī, 37b.

5. Ibid, 40a.

A certain amount of political defiance is shown by the Satnāmī scripture's exhortation to the "saints" not to go to meet "Unjust rājas", and wealthy and corrupt people.[1]

Isardās called the Satnāmīs impure, foul and wicked.[2] Abu'l Fazl Ma'mūrī gives a much better certificate to them. But, if, he says, anyone tried to impose oppression or tyranny upon them, by force or as a display of authority they would not tolerate it. Most of them bore weapons and arms.[3] A revenue official writes in the early years of Aurangzeb's reign that in pargana of Bhatnaīr, there were certain cultivators who dressed like bairāgis and used to live with their women and children. They were alleged to have indulged in violence, robbery and sedition and to have harassed people.[4] It may be that the reference is to the Satnāmīs.

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1. Ibid., 38a, 44a.
2. Isardās, 61b.
3. Ma'mūrī, 148b; Khāfī Khān, II, 252.
4. Bālkrishan Brahman, 56a-b.

The Satnāmī revolt took place in the 15th year of Aurangzeb's reign (1672 A.D.).[1] At the time of the revolt they consisted of about four or five thousand householders living in the neighbouring parganas of Nārnaul and Mewat.[2] Apparently, either the ranks of the sect swelled suddenly, or they were joined by masses of poor people in the revolt, for a contemporary Hindī verse calls their host "a crore of villagers".[3] Sāqī Musta'id Khān also speaks as if a huge mullitude was involved, for the exlaims in wonder as to how they "sprang out of the ground like termites and descended from the sky like locusts".[4]

The conflict arose[5] from a purely temporal cause. Following some dispute, a foot-soldier (piyāda) of Nārnaul,

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1. Sāqī Musta'id Khān, 114-115. He says on 26th Zai-ul-Qadah/ 25th March the final encounter was taken place. Unlikely Ma'mūrī (147a) puts the revolt much later, in the 20th R.Y. This can not be accepted. Isardās (62b), though provides no date for the revolt, he puts it just before the Afghān rebellion which took place in the 16th R.Y. (1672-3 A.D.) Sāqī Musta'id Khān, 129).

2. Sāqī Musta'id Khān (115) gives the numb-r 5000. Ma'mūrī (148a, Khāfī Khān, II, 252) gives 4 to 5000.

3. Tārīkh-i-Makhzan-i-Akhbar, quoted in Nāma-i-Muzaffarī of Muhammad Muzaffar Husain Khān, Lucknow, 1917, vol. I, p.252.

4. Sāqī Musta'id Khān, 115.

5. Ma'mūrī (148b) and Khāfī Khān (II, 252) say that the revolt took place while Aurangzeb was returning from Hasan 'Abdāl. But Aurangzeb went to Hasan 'Abdāl in the 17th R.Y. (1673-4 Sāqī Musta'id Khān 132) and returned from there in the 19th R.Y. (1675-6) while the revolt took place in the 15th R.Y. (1672) (Ibid, 148).

who was watching the harvest broke the head of a Satnāmi cultivator who was working in his field. A body of the Satnāmis collected and beat the foot-soldier to death.[1] When the shiqdār was informed he sent his troops against the Satnāmis.[2] Thus the armed conflict began.

Sāqī Musta'id Khān tells us that Uddhava Bairāgī was executed along with his two Rājpūt disciples, who had murdered Qāzī 'Abul Wahhāb's son, by the Emperor in the 12th R.Y. (1669-70).[3] We have seen that there is a tradition (though of dubious value) of some connexion between Uddhava Bairāgī and Bīrbhān, the founder of the Satnāmī sect. If so, Uddhava's execution too might have caused some bitterness among the Satnāmis.

Manucci tells us that at that time the Emperor had only ten thousand troops at his disposal. The main body of Mughal troops had been sent to the Deccan for Shāh 'Ālam's expedition against Shivāji. Seeing this, says Manucci, the Satnāmis took the opportunity to rebel and march on the capital.[4]

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1. Ma'mūrī, 148b, Khāfī Khān, II, 253.
2. Ma'mūrī, 148b, Khāfī Khān, II, 253.
3. Sāqī Musta'id Khān, 84-85.
4. Manucci, 156.

Isardās names one Gharīb Dās Hāṛā as the leader, of the Satnāmīs.[1] This name is not otherwise heard of; Hāṛā suggests Rājpūt affinites. There also appeared among them an old sorceress. Isardās writes that "it began to be talked about that among that sect, there was a sorceress, who by magic called up a supernatural army every night and that army acted with such vigour that no attack made by swords, musket-shots and arrows had any effect on it".[2] So also Ma'mūrī: "stories were currently reported about them which were utterly incredible. They were said to have made a magic wooden horse, on which they mounted a woman, who was the leader of their vanguard."[3] Manucci too describes this sorceress.[4] Whether sorceress or not, the presence of a prominent woman-leader among the Satnamis is thus established. We may recall that the English also thought that Joan of Arc was a sorceress. Certainly, the Satnāmīs were fired by religious ethusiasm. "These wicked people", says Sāqī Musta'id Khān, "considered themselves immortal and believed that if one of them was slain, seventy others would spring up in his place".[5] The woman-leader must have been an evangelist rather than a magician.

1. Isardās, 61b. However, other Persian chronicles do not mention his name. Sarkar also does not refer to him and only highlights the role of the sorceress (III, 299).

2. Isardās, 62a.

3. Ma'mūrī, 148b; Khāfī Khān, II, 253-54.

4. Manucci, 156.

5. Sāqī Musta'id Khān, 115.

Whatever the actual leaders' identities, the Satnāmīs grew in strength quite rapidly. They defeated the contingent sent by the local official (shiqdār);[1] and then plundered the villages of surrounding parganas,[2] occupying a number of them.[3] When the matter was reported to the faujdār of Nārnaul, Ṭāhir Khān,[4] he sent, one after another, number of horse and foot but they too were successively defeated.[5] The faujdār had to flee,[6] and the Satnāmīs seized the towns of Nārnaul[7] and Bairāt Singhāna.[8] Isardās says that they ransacked the property of the inhabitants and destroyed a number of mosques and tombs there.[9] They collected taxes from the villages and established their own administration.[10]

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1. Ma'mūrī, 148b; Khāfī Khān, II, 253.
2. Sāqī Musta'id Khān, 115.
3. Isardās, 62a.
4. Sāqī Musta'id Khān, 115; Isardās, 62a. But Kār Ṭalab Khān is mentioned as faujdār of Nārnaul by Khāfī Khān (II, 253).
5. Ma'mūrī, 148b; Khāfī Khān, II, 253.
6. Our authorities have given different versions of the role played by Ṭāhir Khān, the faujdār. Isardās (62a) praises him for offering stout resistance and says he attained "martyrdom" (shahādat). Sāqī Musta'id Khān (115) says that, being unable to resist them, he came to the presence of the Emperor. Ma'mūrī (f. 148b; Khāfī Khān, II, 253) writes that he had to flee (farār) with all his force; he was finally killed in battle.
7. Isardās, 62a; Ma'mūrī, 148b, Khāfī Khān, II, 253.
8. Isardās, 62a.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid, Ma'mūrī, 148b; Khāfī Khān, II, 253.

Overjoyed with their victories the Satnāmīs marched towards Delhi,[1] thereby directly challenging the Imperial court. Owing to their approach towards Delhi prices of grain rose greatly and the inhabitants of the capital faced considerable distress.[2]

Aurangzeb himself now sent troops under "famous rājas and experienced nobles" to quell the revolt, but while the Satnāmīs reached a place only 16 kurohs from Delhi, the Imperial army hesitated to attack them.[3]

In the meantime, taking advantage of the disturbances, some Rajputs and the zamīndārs of the neighbourhood also went into rebellion and refused to pay revenue.[4]

Finally, Aurangzeb decided to assemble a large force to cursh the rebellion. To quell their reputed magical powers, Aurangzeb, wrote some prayers and formulas and tied those on the banners of his troops.[5]

On Friday, 26th Zi-al-Qad, 1082 A.H./25th March, 1672 the Imperial troops were ordered to attack the

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1. Ma'mūrī, 148b; Khāfī Khān, II, 254.
2. Isardās, 62a.
3. Ma'mūrī, 148b; Khāfī Khān, II, 253.
4. Ma'mūrī, 148b; Khāfī Khān, II, 254.
5. Ma'mūrī, 148b; Khāfī Khān, II, 254; Manucci, 156.

Satnāmīs. The commanders included Ra'dandāz Khān, with artillery; Ḥāmid Khān, with the troops of khās-chaukī and 500 troops of his father Murtaẓa' Khān; Yāḥya Khān Rūmī, Najīb Khān, Kamāluddīn son of Diler Khān, Purdil, son of Fīrūz Khān Mewātī, and Asfandiyār, bakhshī of Prince Akbar with a body of the Prince's troops; Kunwar Kishan Singh[1] and Sarmast Khān[2]. They marched with 10,000 horsemen.[3]

We do not know the exact place where the final encounter took place. But the place was probably some 16 kurohs (or about 35 to 40 miles) distant from Delhi, as mentioned by Ma'mūrī.[4] Manucci gives an almost identical position, viz. 15 "leagues" of Delhi and 'league' is his usual word for kos or kuroh.[5]

The Satnāmīs offered stout resistance in the battle that now took place, but they were overthrown. Thousands of them were killed including, according to Manucci, "the old sorceress; " very few escaped.[6] Gharīb Dās Hāṛā, the leader, was killed in the first attack.[7]

1. Sāqī Musta'id Khān, 115. Isardās, 62a.

2. Tārīkh-i-Makhzan-i-Akhbār quoted in Nāma-i-Muẓaffarī, I, 252.

3. Isardās, 62a.

4. Ma'mūrī, 148b; Khāfī Khān, II, 254. Ma'mūrī gives the distance as 16 kuroh, and Khāfī Khān as 16-17 kuroh.

5. Manucci, 156.

6. Ibid., 157.

7. Isardās, 62b.

Isardās puts the Satnāmī losses at 2,000 killed, while the Imperial loss was only of 200 lives.[1] Describing the severity of the battle, Sāqī Musta'id Khān says that the Satnāmīs fought with such bravery that they repeated the scenes of Mahābhārat.[2]

On the Imperial side Kunwar Kishan Singh[3], Hāmid Khān, *son of Murtaza' Khān and others fought gallantly.*[4] During the battle Kishan Singh's elephant received seven sword wounds.[5] Sarmast Khān[6] also took a prominent part in the battle and had Hindī verses composed to commemorate his role[7]:

> "Emperor Aurangzeb directed Kamāluddīn Khān to suppress these people (the Satnāmīs)."
>
> "The Satnāmīs were crushed so badly that they lost all their courage."
>
> "The brave Sarmast Khān trampled a hoast consisting of a "Crore of villagers" (ganwārs)".

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1. Ibid.

2. Sāqī Musta'id Khān, 116.

3. Isardās, 62b. Sarkar (III, 301), basing on Khāfī Khān (II, 254) has given the name wrongly as Rāja Bishan Singh. Bishan Singh was the son of Kunwar Kishan Singh, and entered Aurangzeb's service after his father's death in the 25th R.Y. (1681-82) with a mansab of 1000/400 (Sāqī Musta'id Khān, 217). See also V.S. Bhatnagar, Life and Times of Sawai Jai Singh, Delhi, 1974, p.12.

4. Khāfī Khān, II, 254.

5. Isardās, 62b.

6. He belonged to the Dā'ūd Zaī clan ('Ālamgīr-Nāma 1054-5). He is first mentioned in the 10th year of Aurangzeb (Ibid). His rank in the Mughal hierarchy is not known. The geneological chart of Diler Khān's family also does not mention him (Nāma-i Muzaffarī, I, 236). However, one Ranmast Khān was the son of Bahādur Khān, brother of Diler Khān ('Ālamgīr-Nāma, 337, 708).

7. Tārīkh-i-Makhzan-i Akhbār, quoted in Nāma-i-Muzaffarī, I, 252.

"All the nobles (of the Mughal army) witnessed the remarkable gallantry (shown by Sarmast Khān (lit. where-ever he stepped he was not repulsed).

For his part in the battle Ŕadandāz Khān was now awarded the title of Shuja'at Khān and obtained the manṣab of 3500/2000. Besides, Ḥāmid Khān, Yāḥya Khān, Rūmī Khān, Najīb Khān, obtained promotions and robes of honour.[1]

The battle, with its tremendous slaughter, seems to have broken the back of the rebellion. Such Satnāmīs as escaped the slaughter fled and scattered,[2] and the area was pacified. Henceforth, to judge from the present tense used for them in the descriptions of Ma'mūrī and Khāfī Khān, they continued to exist as a small agricultural and commercial community.[3]

Sarkar has termed the revolt as part of a "Hindū Reaction".[4] He says "the quarrel soon took on a religious colour and assumed the form of a war for the liberation of the Hindūs by an attack on Aurangzeb himself".[5] There is only one reference in Isardās to religious zeal when, he says, that the rebels demolished mosques and tombs at

1. Sāqī Musta'id Khān, 116.
2. Khāfī Khān, II, 254.
3. Ma'mūrī, 148a-b, Khāfī Khān, II, 252-54.
4. Sarkar, III, 291.
5. Ibid, 299.

Nārnaul.[1] However, the Satnāmī scripture itself does not recognise any identification with either Hindūs or Turks (Muslims).[2] The Satnāmīs discarded superstitions and religious rites of the Hindūs. The Satnāmī scripture clearly says, "neither the Pandit nor the Qāzī know what is kindness, right conduct (dharma) and truth".[3] It is, therefore, not correct to categorize the Satnāmīs as representatives of the Hindū community. Isardās himself rules them out of the Hindū community by calling them filthy and wicked, totally violating the Hindū concepts of ritual purity. The immediate cause for the revolt itself was not religious in nature. The Satnami grievances were against the exploitation and tyranny of the local officials and the administration. These grievances involved not only the Satnāmīs but other peasants, zamīndārs and the Rājpūts of the surrounding areas who joined hands with the Satnāmīs. In this sense, it was more an agrarian than a religious uprising.

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1. Isardās, 62a.

2. Giyān-Bānī, 14b.

3. Ibid., 4a.

APPENDIX

Translation of Extracts from the Satnāmī Scripture

1a SATNĀM-SAHAI*

Book "Giyān-Bānī" of the community (Panth) of the Satnāmī saints.

Satgur came from the promixity of God. He was the first person to behold (God.). The country was Nārnaul. The native village (dah) was Bijhāsar, the hamlet was Kaunslī.[2] Do not leave ever the sight of him. Do not deviate from his path to the end. The sight of him leads to the right path. Without the Gurū who will be enlightened? Hindūs and Turks (Muslims) live in all the four directions. Both of them loot and enjoy living on oppression. The Satgur came and gave the call. The shaved head God's servant is best. Whoever sits at the feet of Agōjar (God)[3] all the illusions of his heart are removed. No doubt[4] remains in the heart whatsoever. The

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1. I am very thankful to Dr. Shailesh Zaidi and Dr.Shandilya of the Department of Hindi, Aligarh Muslim University for their help and guidance in the translation of the extracts of the Satnāmī scripture.

2. I am unable to identify Bijhāsar and Kaunslī. However they might be somewhere near Narnaul.

3. Lit. Imperceptible, used for God. Cf. Platts, 71.

4. The word use here is Kāī. It has two meanings, someone (Koī) and water-moss (Kāī). The latter sense (=filth) seems employed. Platts, 808, 866.

Satgur showed (the saints) the Ocean of Truth.

<u>4a</u>. Disciple is he who is happy with reciting the Truth, does not seek others' wealth and abstains from superstitions, and does good deeds. Neither the <u>Pandit</u> nor the <u>Qāẓī</u> know what is kindness, right conduct (<u>dharma</u>) and truth. Anyone relying on illusion cannot understand the secret (of truth); he remains mad after wealth. God is the maintainer of the whole world and there is no god other than Him. Immerse yourself everyday in the rememberance of Him. Recite of Him who hath given you life. He has created you to follow (the path of) kindness and faith and (His) name. Keep the company of the saints. Recite of Him who hath given you life. Do not let your attention be diverted by wealth. Do not humble yourself (lit. join your hands) before any man. Immerse yourself in the devotion of the Formless (<u>Nirgun</u>). Recite of Him who hath given you life.

<u>11a</u> . Rarely a person (<u>banda</u>) can recognize evil in the beginning. His heart is like that of wax, which can not stand before the eternal light of God(?).[1] He is virtuous, kind, truthful and treat everyone equally. The person

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1. The meaning here is obscure. The text reads as follows:
بندہ کوئی آدو برو پچھانی ۔ موم دلی من ماہ دیلی تاتاب نہ آنی

obedient to God (banda) is marked amidst the Hindu and the Turk; the devotee (bhagat) does not care for any other occupation.[1] Satgur has blessed and favoured those who have put their reliance on God. He who respects the holy paper, comes to know God and Satgur.

14b. The saint who puts God's name in his heart, does not recognise the barriers of Hindūs and Turks (Muslims).

17a. O, heart: Speak the Truth, speak the Truth, speak of Truth. Without Truth who can be yours?

25b. Satgur came in this world and founded the Satnāmī Panth. O, Saint! Follow (lit. recite) the truth shown by him. Do not count the garland-beads. Keep control over your tongue. Do not taste the pleasures (lit. rice) of the world. Do not serve any other (than God). There is no god equal to the Satgur.

26a. Recite[2] God ('s name), do not keep fast. Keep to the company of saints. He has not laid down any of these practices. Do not watch a nautch or take part in it. Let white be (your) woven cloth. Such does the wise saint wear. Those who are instructed by the Satgur. Nothing in this world can trouble them. He does not need any other thing

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1. The word used is kasab (Pers. kasb), profession.

2. Paro, probably from varan: to choose. Platts, 1189.

to perform, who is devoted to the Lord. Do not go to see any magic or be deceived by it; worship the One everyday. Let man hold fast to the teaching: Abandon untruth, and hold fast to Truth. Let him concentrate on One name only; worldly desires will not come unto him. Know only One name, which is spread all over this world. What one can not get out of pilgrimage or fasting, he gets who takes shelter on His name. Do not look to following the other's asceticism (jōg). Suppress yourself (āpā) and .... (unclear).[1]

31a. Do not put the tīka-mark (on any one)...[2] Do not utter abuse; and worldly life .... Do not watch any nautch, nor throw any colour, do not eat betel-leaf nor do any thing of this kind.

35a. Bachankā that is Prose.

First God was by himself; then he created His disciple.

36a. And do not snatch away the property of others, and do not discriminate, and do not beg anything of anyone. Do not accept gifts or charity. Do not be envious of enjoyment of good things by others.

37b. A woman should marry only once and should have one husband (Purakh)[3] only.

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1. The text reads: دھرو نہ بھیکھو

2. Here words عمل نہ بیجو are not very clear.

3. In the Glossary to the Manuscript, the word Purakh is said to stand for God, but here seems to be used for husband.

38a. ... Do not concourse with an oppressive rājah, the rich, the dishonest and the lying. Do not go to their marriages,[1] or sit with them of your own will. Be with the saints (Sādhan).

39a. The saint should not take any one else's money, whether given as gift or charity or respectful offering or reward. His clothes should not be coloured, whether on occasions of happiness or in the mourning. Do not play any musical instruments at marriage or on birth of child (bālak nahenā)[2] or in thīk bi kōi (pakōi?).[3] Do not play any vocal instrument of leather or of wood or of bone or of skin of fruit. Do not clap with hands or play chakai.[4] Do not play on any other musical instrument or fire crackers in any marriage celeberations.

39b. Let not the mōṛ[5] and bracelet be worn by the boy or the girl (on marriage). Do not have them wear garland and

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1. The word is شاهدی, apparently a corruption of shādī, marriage.

2. The word is not clear. However, it might be from nanhā: child and the reference is possibly to the birth of child.

3. It probably mean engagement. Thīk-firm pakōi from pakkā, firm, strong. Platts, 265, 366.

4. A possible corruption of chakra-Rās - a circular dance associated with Lord Krishna. Besides, chakai is also a toy for children - whirligig. Platts, 437, 581.

5. Corruption of maur (crown), worn by the bridegroom (like sehra); it is made of toddy-leaves and sola (khukhrī). (Platts, 1090, Braj Bhāshā Sūr Kōsh, ed. Dr. Prem Narain Tandan, Lucknow, 1962, vol. II, p.1428).

ṭarh (?)[1] and bridegroom's turban (sehra), nor go round (the fire), neither the boy nor the girl. Do not put antimony (surmā) and lamp-black (kājal) in the eye except medicinally (lit. without any illness). The saint in whatever they do should not either marry or have anything to do with a married woman (suhārag).[2] On the occassion of marriage or occassion of happiness or in any celebration do not have the nautch. On any occassion of mourning (death), do not cry, or shave your head and beard. Do not burn the dead or should go on pilgrimage (Gayā-karnī)[3] or make mourning donations (pind-bharnā)[4], or other gifts. Do not eat betel-leaf or smoke tobacco, nor smoke the hookah, nor take opium, nor drink wine, nor eat or drink any intoxicant, nor drink nor eat eatables having bad smell. The most just (nyāva)[5] way is that of the Greater. You should be generous to all, and oppress and harm none. The following are very bad offences: First, to kill an innocent person either for money or out of cruelty; to occupy some one else's dwelling place, even for one day;

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1. The text reads طرح, probably طره (from Arabic ṭurrah), meaning an oranament worn in the turban. Platts, 753.

2. The word might have been derived from suhāg (happy and auspicious state of wife-hood). Platts, 705.

3. To offer obsequies. Sūr kōsh, I, 373.

4. Oblation of cooked rice balls. Cf. Platts, 272.

5. From nyāy, justice.

to eat meat; to loot or steal any one else's good (māl); to beg; to talk rubbish (baknā) like the ordinary people (lit. world) to any one, whether man, cattle or birds or anything whatever. Such a person (who commits the above deeds) will be expelled from the Panth for life. So long as he lives, any new judgement (nauyar?) on that man is prohibited. The saint should avoid the company of such persons.

40a. ... And if one beats by hand or by foot or by wood or by any other means any member of the Panth, he should not (be allowed to) join (lit. bow to) (the community) without the counsel of the member of the community.[1] If both fight (with each other) so as to be enemies outside (the circle of) amity, then a senior saint should be entrusted with judging about them. Whatever the judge considers to be proper, should be acted upon. Whoever has inflicted injury by wood or by hand should be deprived of benefits (be-pāwatī)[2] (from the sect) for twelve years; if one does it then one, and if both have done it, then both of them.

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1. Binā lāq wāre. The lit. meaning of lāq is affinity. (Platts, 946).

2. Without gain (be = without, pāwatī = gain). Cf. Platts, 201, 222.

<u>40b</u>. Do not enter into money (arrangements)[1] with any one unless in accordance with (the rules of) the Panth; do not inflict oppression upon any one (especially) the poor; and do not act treacherously, and do not take a petition or appeal to any man or call for his help. Do not praise anyone in the same terms as the Creator Lord. Do not glorify any man in the same manner as the Lord. Do not be afraid of if any one threatens you with magic, nor believe in it (magic) nor practise it. Magic can not harm us. It is nothing; nor does anything by magic ... whatever the Lord wishes, happens.

<u>44a</u>. Wear white clothes. No one should keep beard; but women should keep hair. The saint should not wear (good) clothes and jewellery . He should love him whose heart loves the saint (?).[2] Do not see any public spectacle whatsoever, or see any dance, or apply henna or hear music, unless it contains praise of the Lord and teaching, and not criticism (<u>mukarī</u>)[3] of the path of the <u>Panth</u>. Do whatever you want to do. Only do not do that work which gives pain to the world or man. Do not drink any

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1. The word is <u>ṭanka</u>, copper-coin, money.

2. The text is not very clear here. The text reads as follows: کاهی سی که جهه چنچل نائی ہی ساده لون سو وه چائی

3. Probably from <u>mukarnā</u>: to go back upon one's word.

intoxicant. Do not so act that anyone is harmed. Do not become a servant of him who wishes you to do whatever improper thing he wants, such as committing theft or treachery, acting false witness, looting or harming the poor, and make you do things not in confirmity with the Panth. Do not remain in his service. Do not treat with an unjust rāja, or rich man, or a dishonest person. Do not accept any gifts whatsoever from such people or from rājas. And the secret of the Lord can not be known without His grace. And the Lord knows every secret of everyone, and there is one Lord (for all of us).

All those have tied their devotion to God[1], their guide is Kabīrdas.

GLOSSARY

51a. The name of this book.

52b. "Bihīn[2] Gyān Bānī"

Samvat 1714, one thousand seven hundred and fourteen, Baiśakh sudī dwādashī, Friday, Shukarwār, is the date of the beginning of this sect (mazhab).

Faqat, Abigat, Āp, Purakh, Jōgī, Kartā, Mālik, Sarjanhār, Gorakhjī - the meaning of all these words is God (Allāh). The word hukmī is the order (ḥukm) of Satgur-

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1. The word used is Abigat (God). See the Glossary of the Manuscript.

2. From bih (Pers.), meaning 'best, most excellent'. Platts, 201.

Bābājī. The (words) āwāz, shabd, betā, chelā, all these mean the Word of God. Sādh, Nar, Satd(h)ārī, Pundhārī, all these (words) mean a slave and obedient servant (of God). Allāhgyān means to know who is the Lord. Panth, pad, mārg mean the way. Sumiran, dhyān, astut mean rememberance of God. Rasnā mean tongue Jahyā (?) Kāyā, Sarīr, badan, tan, sarīr-pind mean the body. Prānī-bolnā (?) means the spirit (rūh) of the devotee. Sevā means service.
- Bhawānīdās Sādh Satnāmī.

2. The Sikhs:

Another uprising which posed great threat to Mughal administration in sūba Delhi was that of the Sikhs.[1]

The history of relations between the Sikhs and the Mughal authorities has so often been told that a brief recapitulation is all that is necessary. Akbar is said to have granted the site of Amritsar to Gurū Amar Dās's daughter Bibī Bhānī. Here the city was then founded by Gurū Rāmdās.[2]

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1. Since W. Irwine (Later Mughals, ed. Jadunath Sarkar, Vol. I, Calcutta) has given detail account of the revolt I have mainly confined my discussion to the nature of the revolt.

2. Cf. Max Arthur Macauliffe, The Sikh Religion, Reprint, Delhi, 1963, Vol. II, pp. 97-98, 141, 258, 270-71.

But after Akbar's death, Gurū Arjan blessed Prince Khusrau as he fleeing from his father's armies. Jahāngīr tells us that he thereupon sentenced Gurū Arjan to death.[1] Later on Jahāngīr employed Har Govind but he was also kept a prisoner for twelve years in the Gwalior jail.[2] During the war of succession among Shāhjahān's sons, Gurū Har Rāʾi is said to have blessed Dārā Shukoh. After Dārā Shukoh's defeat Aurangzeb called the Gurū to the court to explain his action. The Gurū sent his son Rām Rāi but the latter defected to the Mughal side. Rām Rāʾi's action led the Gurū to disinherit him.[3]

In 1675 Aurangzeb executed Gurū Tegh Bahādur at Delhi.[4] It was during his successor Gurū Govind Singh's time that armed conflicts broke out with the Mughals. There were several Mughal-Sikh encounters near Sirmūr and Nahān. One such clash also occurred at Sirhind. During this encounter

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1. Tuzuk, 35; Dabistān-i Mazāhib, Nawal Kishore, Kanpur, 1904, p. 234.

2. Dabistān-i Mazāhib, p. 234.

3. Macauliffe, IV, 304-311.

4. M. Qāsim ʿIbrat Husain, ʿIbratnāma, Br. Mus. Add. 26,245, 1/273a, f. 27b.

Wazīr Khān, faujdār of Sirhind captured Gurū Govind's mother Gujari and two sons Fatḥ Shāh and Zorāwar Singh. At the instigation of Sāj Ānand they were put to death.[1]

After Aurangzeb's death Gurū Govind Singh accepted a manṣab from Bahādur Shāh. He was assassinated in at Nānder in 1708.[2] Upon his death his disciple Fatḥ Shāh or Banda assumed leadership of the Sikhs. Coming to the north, he rallied armed followers and started from Kharkhauda.[3] Within the Delhi ṣūba, sarkārs of Sirhind and Sahāranpūr and the Sirmūr territory were the main centres of Banda's activities.

After Kharkhauda, the next target of Banda's attack was Sonepat.[4] After a military success at Sonepat, Banda Bahādur attacked Sirhind to punish Wazīr Khān, faujdār of Sirhind who was responsible for the murder of Govind Singh's sons.[5] He also plundered Sadhaura.[6] Wazīr Khān was killed

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1. 'Ibid, 28b, 30b.
2. Ibid., 29a-b.; Khāfī Khān, II, 652.
3. Muḥammad Shafī 'Wārid', Mirāt-i Wāridāt, Fārsia Akhbār-43, University Collection, M.A. Library, Aligarh, p. 388.
4. Ibid., 388-89.
5. 'Ibratnāma, 29b- 30-ab.
6. Wārid, 389.

and all power seized by the Sikhs.[1] Bar Singh, a man of low-birth (belonging to pargana Haibatpūr, ṣūba Punjab) was appointed "ṣūbedār" of Sirhind by Banda.[1] Banda's forces also plundered and occupied Sunam, Samana, Ludhiana, Sadhaura, Mukhliṣpūr etc.[3]

After occupying sarkār Sirhind Banda crossed the Sutlej into the Bait-Jalandhar Doāb.[4]

The Sikhs also attacked Sahāranpūr. Almost half of Sahāranpūr came under their control. The faujdār of Sahāranpūr ʿAlī Ḥamid Khān fled to Delhi.[5] Bahādur Shāh sent a strong force under Khān Daurān, ṣūbedār of Oudh, Muḥammad Amīn Khān, faujdār of Moradabad, Khān Jahān, ṣūbedār of Allahabad and Saiyyid ʿAbdullah Khān Bārha, along with Asad Khān, ṣūbedār of Delhi. Though the Mughals made great effort to press on towards Sadhaura, Banda Bahādur was able to escape in disguise.[6]

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1. Khāfī Khān, II, 652 et passim ; ʿIbratnāma, 30a-31a; Muḥammad Hādī Kāmwār Khān, Taẕkirat-us Salāṭīn-i Chaghtā, ed. Muzaffar Alam, Bombay, 1980, pp. 93 et passim. Warid, 389 et. passim.

2. ʿIbratnāma, 31a.

3. Ibid., 31a-b.

4. Ibid., 31b; Khāfī Khān, II, 657-660.

5. Khāfī Khān, II, 654 et passim.

6. Ibid., 669 et passim.

During Farrukh Siyār's reign the final clashes occurred with Bandā. He was captured in 1715 and executed in 1716.[1]

To analyse the nature of the Sikh movement, certain questions arise: Was the movement mainly supported by peasants? Had the *zamīndārs* any role to play? and what was the caste-composition of Bandā's supporters?

The followers of Bandā were said to be mainly Jāṭs and Khatrīs.[2] They belonged to agricultural and mercantile classes respectively. Gurū Nānak himself was a Khatrī. We also encounter references to merchants' supporting the rebels. In 1710, during the Mughal siege of Lohgarh, traders of the Imperial army surreptitiously maintained supplies to the fort.[3] Moreover, Gulābo Khatrī, a tobacco-seller, who resembled Banda helped him to escape from the fort.[4] But the leadership of the Sikhs had long been passing gradually into the hands of the Jāṭs, although the Gurū s were Khatrīs. The

1. Ibid., 761 et passim. English Factors also record the capture of Bandā Bahādur by 'Abdus-Ṣamad Khān. See Ganda Singh (ed.) *Early European Accounts of the Sikhs*, Reprint, Calcutta, 1962, p. 52.

2. *Dabistān-i Mazāhib*, 233, Khāfī Khān, II, 651.

3. Ibid., 642-73.

4. Ibid., 673.

Dabistān-i Mazāhib tells us that most of the masnads (agents appointed to collect the gifts) of the Gurūs were Jāṭs; thus the Khatrīs were in away made subservient to the Jāṭs.[1] The Khatrī's meek submission to the Imperial order to shave-off their beards might also have caused some dissentions.[2] Part of the Khatrī disenchantment with the Sikh uprising might have been because it severely affacted the mercantile interests. In Sirhind, Jalālābād and neighbouring areas of Delhi merchants were the main losers.[3] By Jahāndār Shāh's reign the Mughals started befriending the Khatrīs by giving them lucrative offices. Sabhā Chand, a munshī became dīwān-i khāliṣa.[4]

The Sikh movement, however, retained support among the lower classes. There is little explicit reference, it is true, to low-class grievances in Sikh literature.[5] The manifesto of Gurū Govind Singh did not refer to the sufferings of the peasants.[6] However, during later years, especially under Banda, the Sikh uprising does seem to have drawn strength from the oppression of the peasants by the Mughal officials. Banda's

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1. Dabistān-i Mazāhib, 233.
2. Khāfī Khān, II, 673-74.
3. Ibid., 655-56.
4. Cf. Muzaffar Alam 'Sikh Uprising Under Banda Bahādur, 1708-1715, PIHC, 1978, p. 518.
5. Cf. Prof. Irfan Habib, Forms of Class Struggle in Mughal India, IHC, Bombay Session, 1980(Cyclostyled copy),p.32.
6. Zafarnāma, cf. Ibid.

supporters were consisted of scavangers, leather dressers and other low-born. Wārid says that a sweeper could, as a Sikh, share food with a rāja of high status. Bar Singh whom[1] Banda appointed sūbedār of Sirhind was also a low-born person.[2]

Banda enjoyed considerable support among some of the zamīndārs in the Punjab region.[3] The zamīndārs of Sahāranpūr, Sirhind and Ropar gave help to the Mughals against Banda.[4]

Muzaffar Alam says that Banda predominatly got the support of Jāṭ zamīndārs.[5] However, this does not seem to be correct in case of Delhi ṣūba. Banda's revolt was mainly confined to Saharanpur and Sirhind sarkārs where Jāṭs had only secondary importance. In the sarkār of Sahāranpūr out of 33 parganas only 7 returned Jāṭ zamīndārīs in the statistics of the Ā'īn. Pargana Sahāranpūr, which was the main target of the rebels did not have any Jāṭ. zamīndārī. Sarkār Sirhind returned Jāṭ zamīndārī in 15 parganas out of 33 but these Jāṭ zamīndārīs were mainly in the parganas —

1. Wārid, 391-2.
2. ʿIbratnāma, 31a.
3. See Muzaffar Alam's article on 'Sikh Uprising!..', PIHC, 1978, 509 et passim.
4. Ibid., 510-511.
5. Ibid., 512.

Ghuram, Massigan, Habri, Pail, Chirak etc. -- where the impact of the uprising was less severe. The main centres Sirhind, Ropar, Sadhaura, Mustafābād, Shāhābād and Sultānpūr did not have Jat *zamīndārīs*. Only Samana, Thanesar and *Khizrābād* had Jat *zamīndārī* and they also saw severe clashes between Banda and the Mughal forces. In Delhi *sarkār* some of the localities affected by the uprising had Jat *zamīndārīs*, such as Kharkhauda - the place from where the uprising started - and Sonepat. However, in this *sarkār*, its western parts which was stronghold of Jats were not affected by Banda's activities. Similarly, *sarkār* Hissar Firuza where Jats were returned as *zamīndārs* in 19 out of 27 *parganas* remained unaffected.[1]

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1. *Ā'īn*, I, 518-529; for further details see Chapter 6 on *Zamīndārs*.

2. Muzaffar Alam says that the column *zamindar* in the *Ā'īn's* statistics denotes just 'intermediary (*khidmatguzār*) and big *zamīndārs* alone' (Muzaffar Alam, 512). On the basis of this he hypothesizes that 'the large number of small unidentified *zamīndārs* were largely Jats who settled in the region for the last 3-4 centuries (*Ibid.*). However, the *Ā'īn* has used the words *būmī* and *zamīndārs* which do not distinguish between small, intermediary or big *zamīndārs*. (For further details also see Irfan Habib, 'Forms of ....', IHC, 1980, p. 35 fn.1).

ABBREVIATIONS

The numbers placed against the abbreviations are those given to the respective works in the Bibliography.

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The abbreviations used are:

Asafiya	Asafiya Library, Hyderabad.
Bib. Ind.	Bibliotheca Indica.
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford.
Br. Mus.	British Museum.
IESHR	The Indian Economic and Social History Review, New Delhi.
IHR	Indian Historical Review, New Delhi.
JASB	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
JIH	Journal of Indian History.
JUPHS	Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society.
I.O.	India Office.
M.A. Library	Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh.

MIM	Medieval India - A Miscellany.
MS	Manuscript.
Or.	Oriental
PIHC	Proceedings Indian History Congress.

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